

一曰少旅風風是也
二曰少旅風風是也
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CONFIRMATORY OF THE
OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT SCRIPTURES.

BY

WILLIAM HARRIS RULE, D.D.

*Εξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ ἐξέπεσε, τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα
κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*



Multæ terricolis linguæ, cœlestibus una.

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P R E F A C E.

IT will be perceived that the title-pages of this volume and the one preceding¹ indicate a shade of difference in the contents. In the first, I restrict myself, almost entirely, to monumental confirmation of the several statements in the Old Testament to which the records relate, but in the second I take a somewhat wider range, yet not so wide as will soon be practicable.

The ground which lies before us is not yet fully occupied; and with the additional material which will, most probably, soon come to hand, further study of a much enlarged collection may be expected to throw great light on the long continued corruption of the Israelites by communication with their neighbours in general, and their Egyptian masters and Assyrian and Babylonian conquerors in particular. When the study now anticipated is accomplished, much additional aid will be obtained for a more sure and enlightened exposition of both the Old Testament and the New, and especially of such portions of the latter as relate to the infant Asiatic churches, influenced as they were by idolatries which have not hitherto been so well understood by expositors as are those of Greece and Rome. The false worship, the false teachings, and the evil customs of those remote

¹ *Oriental Records. Monumental.*

ages, the entire picture of heathen life, as we find it self-recorded, must be made widely known before the exact adaptation of the censures of Prophets and Apostles to the case of those whom they address can be fully appreciated.

To attempt so complete an exposition would now be premature. The Oriental mythologies are not yet ascertained sufficiently by those most diligent and most successful investigators whose attention is perseveringly directed to the very subject, and whose discoveries multiply almost from day to day, and enrich the new literature which has come into existence.

I must acknowledge my consciousness that the present work is but rudimental, and profess a hope that, if my own life be spared for the completion of another labour, which is now demanding incessant care, it may be permitted me to pursue this long cherished object yet further. But I rejoice in the assurance that younger men, all over Europe, are busily pursuing this line of study, and will consecrate their powers to the glory of God, in direct relation to that Divinely inspired book, which becomes more and more manifestly precious, as witnesses rise up from the dust of antiquity to vindicate its perfectness from the disparagement of scepticism, and the contradiction of grosser unbelief.

W. H. RULE.

CROYDON,

June 21st, 1877.



ORIENTAL RECORDS.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE SABBATH.

GENESIS II. 2, 3.

AFTER the creation of man, the first great event on record is the institution of the Sabbath. Much has been said of a division of time into weeks anciently observed, and some classical quotations are current, but I shall not repeat them. There cannot be any contemporaneous monument of that event, but it is undeniable that a Sabbatic tradition can be traced in history, although for the most part faintly. Moses writes that "on the seventh day God ended His work which He had made: and He rested¹ on the seventh day from all His work which He had made. And God blessed the seventh day, and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which He had created and made." (Gen. ii. 2, 3.) When collating the Chaldean deluge tablet with the

¹ שָׁבַת "he ceased from."

Mosaic history of the deluge, I have shown that, according to both these documents, there was a weekly division of time observed by Noah. I am not able to make so confident a use of some passages from the Greek classics as others have done to prove the prevalence of a Sabbatic tradition, but am glad to find more direct evidence from higher antiquity.

There is a standard astronomical work that was common to both Babylonians and Assyrians. It consists of seventy tablets, and was compiled in this form for Sargon, king of Agane, in the sixteenth century before Christ. This, however, is but one out of many of the same kind, all representing a system of combined science and superstition cultivated during many centuries, and perhaps more ancient than Babylon itself. It is translated by the Rev. A. H. Sayce, M.A., who presented the translation and memoir to the Society of Biblical Archæology. On one of the tablets are found these words: "The moon a rest, on the seventh day, the 14th day, the 21st day, the 28th day, causes."¹ In the course of his memoir Mr. Sayce remarks that the days on which the quarters of the moon began were called "days of *sulum*,"² or rest, and on those days certain works were forbidden. This is supported by another inscription, of which the translation is published by Mr. Fox Talbot as it stands on the fifth Creation-tablet: "Every month without fail he made *holy assembly days*. In the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, it (the moon) shot forth its beams to illuminate the heavens. On the

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., p. 145, 207, 213, 313.

² שלום "peace."

seventh day he appointed a *holy day*, and to cease from all business he commanded." From the same tablet Mr. Talbot translates an account of Hasisadra curing Isdubar of a cutaneous disease which he understands to be leprosy. Be that as it may, for the meaning of rarely occurrent words must, as yet, be doubtful, the general drift of the inscription scarcely can be, and the numbers could hardly be mistaken. The lines run thus: "Every day (Hasisadra) ascended to the deck of the ship (the ark, as it lay on its resting-place). The first day, he brought ointment for his leprosy; the second day, he brought musk; the third day, he brought . . . ; the fourth day, he opened his ulcer; the fifth day, ointment he spread on it; the sixth day, he brought balsam. *On the seventh day*, he gave him a dress of honour, and exalted the man." The same is repeated further on.¹

Mr. Sayce has more recently published a translation of what he calls "a Babylonian Saints' Calendar," which bears traces of an Accadian original, and if so, it represents a distinct historic source. Not only is there a Sabbath marked therein on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the month, but one also on the 19th, for which there may have been some special and independent reason, and on each of these days there is the following entry, of great importance with regard to the manner in which the Sabbath should be kept:

"A Sabbath. The prince of many nations the flesh of *birds* (and) cooked fruit eats not. The garments of his body he changes not. White robes he puts not on, sacrifice he offers not. The king in his chariot

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. IV., p. 67-69.

rides not. In royal fashion he legislates not. A place of garrison the general by word of mouth appoints not. Medicine for his sickness of body he applies not.”¹

Mr. Sayce observes that what he has translated Sabbath is expressed by two Accadian words which literally signify *dies nefastus*, and a bilingual syllabary makes them equivalent to *yum sulumi*, or day of completion of labours. He further says that the word Sabbath itself was not unknown to the Assyrians, and occurs, under the form of *Sabbatu*, in one of the Western Asiatic inscriptions (II. 32, 16), where it is explained as a day of rest for the heart. Now this fact, literally set before us, has very great importance. It contributes evidence to show that in the transition of mankind from the service of the true God to creature-worship, the weekly observance of a day of rest was changed into a quarter-monthly. The original Sabbath followed six working-days, and was commemorative of the creation, and the communion of the Creator with His favoured creatures on the first entire day of their existence. The Babylonian Sabbath was made to bear another significance. Nearly the same as to time, it seemed to have another reason, the original reason having passed out of mind, and to depend on the moon, which was said, being now deified, to *cause* a day of rest, peace, repose from labour. The writing of Moses and the method of the astrologers so far differ, but the reason of the difference is palpable, and the fact of differing is accounted for at once by the departure of the

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 157.

Babylonians from the faith and worship of their fathers to the worship of the sun and moon.

The quarter-monthly Sabbath is reproduced in some part of India. A missionary, writing from Ceylon, describes a revival of Buddhist zeal in that island, and gives one proof of it in "the revival of a Buddhist Sunday, if," he asks incredulously, "Buddhism ever had one before. *It occurs on the day of the moon's change, four times a month, commonly known as 'Poga Day.'* Recently, however, a much stricter keeping of it has been called for, and now the Buddhist bazaar, or market, and the boutiques, or shops, are all closed on Poga days. In 1864 (when last in Ceylon), I never saw or heard of such observance: now, we can get nothing from Buddhists on Poga days."¹

¹ *Wesleyan Missionary Notices* for September, 1875.

SITE OF THE CAVE OF MACHPELAH.



GENESIS XXIII. 17-20.

WE cannot yet explore the patriarch's burial-place at Hebron, and ascertain by actual inspection the exact reason of its name, *machpelah*, or *double*. Conjecture does not satisfy. It remains for some reverent inquirer to gain access, and search the place beneath-ground for what information it may yield. The patriarch Abraham was buried there, as were Isaac and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. Nothing is known of the funeral rites that were observed when its venerable purchaser was laid there out of sight. We do indeed know that when Jacob died in Egypt, his son "Joseph commanded his servants the physicians to embalm his father; and the physicians embalmed Israel. And forty days were fulfilled for him, for so are fulfilled the days of those which are embalmed; and the Egyptians mourned for him threescore and ten days." (Gen. l. 2, 3.) With great state, and a procession almost royal, the body was conveyed to Hebron. No doubt it was thoroughly mummified. Probably a sarcophagus had been prepared for its reception, for we cannot conceive that so great care as was displayed in the embalming and the burial could have been preceded by a negligence foreign from the habits of the Egyptians, and

so utterly unlike the filial reverence and love constantly and assiduously displayed by Joseph during the seventeen years of his father's life in Egypt. It is almost equally improbable that the sarcophagus would have been bare, without a sentence engraven to betoken faith in immortality or to honour the departed in sight of the Egyptians; or that no written papyrus would be laid within the mummy-cloths. And unless Machpelah has been rifled at some time when Judea was overrun with a hostile army, or held in absolute possession by Gentiles, it may even now be hoped that the time is coming when in that cave some kind of monumental confirmation to the narrative of Jacob's burial written in the last chapter of the book of Genesis, and of Joseph's also, will be found.

In the Holy Land there is a great scarcity of Biblical monuments. Josephus, indeed, is supposed to refer to the tombs of the patriarchs in Hebron when he says, that in his time monuments of the children of Abraham were shown in this very little city of Hebron, and that they were all of the finest marble, and sumptuously wrought;¹ but it does not appear that any remains of such monuments have been heard of since his time.

Unless Josephus writes carelessly, we must understand him to affirm that then, or at least within memory of persons then living (*until now*), while he was writing his books on the Jewish war, about A.D. 70, soon after the fall of Jerusalem, those fine

¹ τούς τε παῖδας αὐτοῦ [Ἀβράμου] λέγουσι παταθῆναι εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἔνθεν ὄν καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν τῇδε τῇ πόλει δεικνύται, πάντῃ καλῆς μαρμάρου καὶ φιλοτίμως εἰργασμένα. *Bell. Jud.* IV., ix. 7.

marble monuments were shown, having been preserved with sacred care for seventeen hundred years. But there is reason to believe that the Hebron known to Josephus did not occupy the same site as the Hebron of to-day. The famous turpentine-tree, called the oak of Mamre, and mentioned by Josephus, was *six* stadia from Hebron; but Sozomen, writing about the middle of the fifth century, gives for the distance of the same tree *fifteen* stadia, showing a difference of *nine*. Again, in the twelfth century, Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Hebron, says that "this city was formerly situated in the mountain, but was then in ruins, that the town he saw was on lower ground, and that the field of Machpelah, where was the great high place which they called Saint Abraham, and close to that temple, the tombs of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah; a position corresponding, as nearly as may be, to the present position of the mosque of the Friend of God, as the Arabs call it, and the cave wherein the bodies of Abraham and the others are said to be deposited, and is consequently regarded with an awful reverence by the Mohammedans." ¹

But if Josephus is to be understood literally, that the bodies were buried *in that very town, ἐν τῇδε τῇ πολίχνῃ*, and if that very town was in the site described by Sozomen and Rabbi Benjamin, the remains of the lost monuments may yet be found by excavation there, that is to say, on the top of the hill, instead of the lower ground.

It will be remembered that when the Prince of Wales was in Palestine in 1862, admission for him

¹ *Itinerarium R. Benjaminis*, Lugd. Batav., 1633, p. 48.

and his attendants to enter the mosque was with great difficulty obtained, that he might get a glance, at least, of the cave bought of the Hittites by Abraham, or some part of it. A continuous tradition, traced through a succession of historians and travellers from Flavius Josephus, down to the present Dean of Westminster, who accompanied his Royal Highness, and wrote an interesting account of that visit,¹ seemed to mark the place, but a difficulty has been created by the shifting of the site, and a question of identity is raised. There is, certainly, a most distinct historical certification of the burial, recorded in the book of Genesis. But the cave has to be searched, and this may soon be accomplished.

While the antiquarian regrets the scarcity of monuments in a land so famous for the greatest events in the history of mankind, he cannot fail to be impressed with the prophetic sentence of desolation: "I will scatter you among the heathen, and will draw out a sword after you, and your land shall be desolate, and your cities waste." (Lev. xxvi. 33.) "In all your dwelling-places the cities shall be laid waste, and the high places shall be desolate; that your altars may be laid waste, and may be cut down, and your works may be abolished." (Ezek. vi. 6.) Hence it has come to pass that the explorers of Palestine, stimulated by the expectation of finding objects of great archæological interest, have set out in earnest search, have persevered nobly, and, after all, find little of the kind at first expected. Their labours are indeed rewarded, but not quite according to the hopes of the original projectors.

¹ *The Times*, April 26, 1862.

BURIAL, NOT BURNING.

GENESIS XXIII. 19.

ABRAHAM bought the cave Machpelah, or *double*, of Ephron the Hittite, for four hundred shekels of silver, that he might bury his dead out of sight. (Gen. xxiii.) He found this cave ready prepared as a place of sepulture, being one of the sepulchres of which the Hittites offered him the choice. This incident brings us one of numberless evidences that the custom of burying or entombing the dead was not peculiar to the Hebrews, but prevailed with other peoples before them. As for the purchase made by Abraham at Hebron, I have written a few lines only; and my only purpose, at present, is to remind the reader that the custom of depositing the bodies of the deceased in graves, vaults, or cells excavated in the rock, tended to keep up a belief in the immortality of man, and a future resurrection. The cremation of the dead had no such significance, nor could it seem to anticipate a restoration of the body.

It would be undertaking an interminable and useless work to set about collecting evidences of that custom and the correspondent belief from the early seats of postdiluvian population. Examples cannot but occur to every reader, such as the vast

burying-places at Warka and Mugheir at a very early period, and the sepulchres and tombs in Chaldea, Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. We read of tombs in South Arabia before the exode of Israel from Egypt, and again in Palestine. Some Phœnician sepulchral epigraphs were discovered a few years ago, and I notice one of them, not on account of anything singular therein, but because, in common with others, it bears witness to religious care for the bodies of the departed. It is inscribed on a sarcophagus discovered in Sidon which once contained the remains of a king Ashmunezer, son of Tabnith, also king of the Sidonians, who, during his life, appears to have given directions for his interment, and for the due care of his tomb.¹ It has been translated into German to the effect following :

“When I fall asleep at the end of my days, then let there be rest, caring for the dead. And I shall lie in this stone coffin, and in this grave, at the place which I have built, founding an ornament for the whole kingdom. And let not any man open this resting-place, nor let him seek for treasure with us, for with us no treasure shall be placed ; neither let him take away the stone coffin where I lie, nor let him overweight the strength of this coffin by laying a second coffin upon it. But if a man sells our grave he is made a curse to himself, we banish him out of the whole kingdom ; and any man who opens the lid of this grave, or who removes the stone coffin in which I lie, or who overloads the support of this coffin, may God deny him a resting-place for his soul,

¹ *Zwei Sidonische Inschriften, und eine altphönische Königsinschrift zuerst herausgegeben und erklärt von Dr. F. E. C. Dietrich, Marburg, 1855.*

and let him not be buried in his grave. May God make him without son or name. Instead of him sleeping, may he quake before the mighty, before the holy, and before them that shall follow him. The renowned king who shall reign among us after I have disappeared from the seat of government, if there is a man who opens the lid of this resting-place, or who takes away this stone coffin, this king shall curse him. When a man violates it, that man may God doom to exile, to starvation, to breaking down, to offence and curse, as long as he lives under the sun, as one for whom no mercy is prepared."

After this execration he recounts his good deeds: chiefly that he has built a house for his mother, a temple for Elon, god of the Sidonians, and another temple for Ashtoreth; and winds up with a curse to all eternity on the man that shall rifle his tomb. This may indicate some features in the religious belief of the Sidonians, while it shows what care they wished to have taken of their mortal remains, but it leaves unaltered the fact that every tomb hitherto discovered, of any importance, has been broken open and robbed of every thing valuable it contained.

Some writers on Christian martyrology have kept up a tradition, very remarkable if true, that confessors of Christ thrown into fires, or into river or sea, or exposed to wild beasts, have been miraculously delivered, but that the same persons, after such deliverance, have been slain by the sword of the executioner.

Some who credit the tradition ask how immunity from one kind of martyrdom, and subjection to the other, is to be accounted for; and the answer

suggested is that the destruction of bodies unburied was believed by people in general to be incompatible with a future resurrection from the dead; and that a miraculous exemption from the devouring flames and flood, and from the jaws of lions, was intended to quicken the faith of Christian confessors in the promises of immortal bliss. These notions we may safely dismiss, and they do not appear to have been encouraged by the most eminent of the Christian fathers; but they serve now to show the existence of a heathen superstition. It is quite probable that sincere, but half-taught Christians, might be haunted with a fear that bodies not duly laid to sleep the sleep of death in the graves prepared for them, might not wake up to life again, but our Lord provided for his people a sentence of infallible assurance to the contrary, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." (Matt. x. 28.) Nevertheless, without any such fear of annihilation at the pleasure of a persecutor, both Jews and Christians were careful to give decent burial to the bodies of martyrs, and it is recorded how devout brethren carried Stephen, the first of them, to interment. (Acts viii. 2.)

But the traces of primeval faith in the resurrection of the body are by no means uniform in the funeral customs of antiquity. They prevail chiefly in the East, and an association of memory of the present life with hope of the future chiefly appears in what is known of the rites of sepulture. As the prophet speaks of warriors lying in the chambers of the dead, with the weapons they had used in life laid under their heads, so do the archæologists tell us of similar deposits

in the coffins or ossuaries of very remote antiquity, and to a much less extent, if at all, in cinerary urns.

There are also traces of unbelief, or perhaps we should rather say of ignorance; and if so, vestiges of belief among the descendants of Shem and Ham are all the more instructive. Some recent accounts of *incineration* by a learned Frenchman, as distinct from *inhumation*, are very helpful to a due consideration of the subject, which has a twofold importance, *first*, in relation to the faith of the Hebrews, who so carefully buried their dead, and then with regard to the practice of what is now euphemistically called *cremation*, and which some persons wish to see introduced into England; not perceiving, as we must presume, that it has hitherto been taken for a symbol of unbelief. I do not charge with unbelief well meaning persons who fancy that for sanitary reasons it would be better to burn departed friends than bury them, for I seriously believe the contrary. In the treatises to which I refer, M. Alexandre Bertrand¹ makes a wide distinction between the Etruscans, inhabitants of Etruria a few centuries before the foundation of Rome, and the old, or rather, the pre-Etruscans, otherwise old Italics, a people of very remote antiquity, and to be strongly distinguished from the Etruscans who brought their religion and civilization from the East. Perhaps they were identical with the Pelasgi, and some of the Homeric heroes. He notes the uniformity of their religious ritual, so far as there are any vestiges of it, and maintains that always, or very nearly always, they burnt their dead.

The old Italics laid the ashes of their dead in

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, Avril et Septembre, 1874.

earthen jars. First, a pit was dug in the ground of size and shape sufficient to receive the jar, or, as the Romans would say, the cinerary urn, and then lined at the bottom and sides with stones rudely squared, and laid together without cement. The jar was then let down into its little pit, and covered with a lid of the same material, somewhat resembling an inverted bowl. One or two flat stones were laid on the top of the pit. The cemetery, if it might be so called, consisted of lines of these deposits; but no inscription recorded the name of the person whose charred flesh and calcined bones were thrown into it. Buckles perhaps, or a razor, or a piece of coat-of-mail, was sometimes dropped into the jar, and when not entirely corroded with the damp of ages, is all that remains to tell that the contents of the jar ever had any relation to humanity. There was not a word in remembrance of any life led in this world, or in token of hope for the world to come.

Here let us borrow a sentence or two of M. Bertrand: "We have on many occasions pointed out how necessary it was to avoid confounding, when studying Italian antiquities, the cemeteries for incineration with those for inhumation, or even with the mixed cemeteries where the two rites have been observed. We have always been convinced that there are two traditions, or to speak more correctly, two religions absolutely distinct, and some facts of character and significance altogether unlike mere individual fancies. A remarkable letter from our friend, Count G. Conestabile, touching the funeral rites of the Etruscans, confirms us more and more in this way of viewing the subject. The Count, whose opinion we

solicited, comes to the conclusion that the funeral rites were dominant among the Etruscan aristocracy, that is to say, the Etruscans, not the old Italics, but they who much later came from the East, where Shemitic faith, or its vestiges, still existed, was *inlumination*. This was that of the primitive Tusci."

This distinction, to which the Italian archæologues are led by researches conducted in a purely scientific spirit, confirms me in the constant belief that the resurrection of the dead was contemplated in Abraham's faith; and that the solemnity with which he conducted the purchase of a burial-place for his family was not only intended as a declaration of assurance that his children in after generations would be laid in that spot, but was a practical profession of his hope and theirs that their bodies would not eternally perish, but be raised to life again. To burn and to bury were acts equally significant, the one of annihilation, the other of hope. This view of the matter agrees with the confession of St. Paul before a Roman governor and a Jewish king: "Now I stand and am judged for the hope of the promise made of God unto our fathers, under which promise our twelve tribes, instantly serving God day and night, hope to come. For which hope's sake, king Agrippa, I am accused of the Jews. Why should it be thought a thing incredible with you that God should raise the dead?" (Acts xxvi. 6-8.)

Methinks I see Abraham the pilgrim laying his dead out of sight in the cave of Machpelah, and calmly rejoicing in the assurance that they and he would be translated thence into that heavenly country where God had prepared for him a city. (Heb. xi. 14-19.)

Israelites, no less than heathens, had a horror of leaving their bodies to be unburied: and that horror, common to mankind, was encouraged by their inspired teachers, who regarded the denial of burial as a mark of infamy. "Thus saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim he shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem." (Jer. xxii. 18, 19.) "His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost." (Jer. xxxvi. 30.) "The dogs," said Elisha, "shall eat Jezebel in the portion of Jezreel, and there shall be none to bury her." (2 Ki. ix. 10.) The dogs did so eat her there, leaving "no more of her than the skull, and the feet, and the palms of her hands." (2 Ki. ix. 35.)

With the Greeks and Latins, however, the horror of lacking burial did not so much arise from a thought of ignominy as of privation in the future state. The soul of Patroclus, for example, is said to appeal to Achilles for the benefit of funeral rites: "Art thou asleep, Achilles, and forgettest me? Thou didst not forget me when I was alive; but, now that I am dead. Bury me as quickly as possible that I may go into the gates of Hades. Souls from afar hasten me, those ghosts of the departed! They will not suffer me to mingle (with them) across the flood, nor to venture rashly through the broad gates of the house unseen."¹ Palinurus, too, accidentally drowning,

¹ Εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο λελασμένος ἔπλευ, Ἀχιλλεῦ;

Οὐ μὲν μεν ζώντος ἀκήδεις, ἀλλὰ θανόντος·

Θάπτε με ὄπτιτάχιστα, πύλας αἶδαο περήσω.

Τῆλέ με εἴργοσι ψυχαί, εἶδωλα καμόντων,

Οὐδέ μέ πως μίσγεσθαι ὑπὲρ ποταμοῖο ἐῶσιν·

Ἄλλ' αὐτως ἀλάλγημαι ἀν' εὐρυπυλῆς αἶδος δῶ. *Iliad.*, xxiii. 69-74.

prays to be admitted into peaceful rest: "Extend thy right hand to a wretch, and carry me with thee through the waves, that I may rest at once in a peaceful abode in death."¹ Every scholar knows how a conclamation was thrice pronounced at the grave of the deceased, as if to be assured that the departed soul had already entered into rest, and if there did not seem to be any sign of disquiet the inquiring survivor, being satisfied, would say *conclamatum est!* and go his way.

With newly converted heathens, a remarkable instance of popular apprehension, that the souls of those who lay unburied could not be saved in the other world, appears in ecclesiastical history, and we see that it occasioned to St. Augustine the writing of his work *De Civitate Dei*. When the Goths under Alaric invaded Italy, and, after a great slaughter in Rome, heaps of corpses lay unburied, the Christians in Africa were distressed with the fear that their brethren so fallen, and so abandoned, would have no part in the resurrection of the dead. For their comfort, the Bishop of Hippo wrote concerning the burial of human bodies, to prove that although it were denied to Christians they would suffer no loss by the denial. He had heard members of his flock ask with an air of pious, but superstitious dread, how many Christians lay unburied, and he would tell them that to a pious faith, the want of a grave could cause no fear, since it is written that a hair of our head shall not perish, and that though beasts devour the body, that will not prevent the resurrection. *The*

¹ Da dextram misero, et tecum me tolle per undas,

Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescam. *Æneid.*, VI., p. 370, 371.

TRUTH never would have said that they who kill the body have no power to kill the soul, if anything an enemy can do to the bodies of his victims could be an obstacle to their enjoyment of life in the world to come. "May God save us," he exclaimed, "from doubting anything that He who is *the* TRUTH hath said!" The earth, he knew, had not covered a great number of the Christians fallen in that carnage, but none of them could be separated from the heaven and earth which He fills with His presence, and knows where to find and call them up again at the resurrection. The Gentiles cannot destroy the bodies of Christians that lie unburied, for He has promised that not only the earth, but all the elements in whose bosom these bodies of ours may be confusedly mingled, shall render them up to life eternal, in that day which the Most High has appointed for calling up the dead to life."¹ In Africa, then, if there were no other evidence, we should learn from Augustine that care of the bodies of the dead was significant of belief in the reality of a future state.

Passing from Numidia, early in Christian history, to Egypt, in far distant ages, we see how intimately care for the dead was inwrought with the entire system of Egyptian faith and worship. The splendid sepulchres, the elaborate ritual, the costly and reverent preparation of the mummies, so effectually preserving them from corruption that human bodies which lived three thousand years ago are still found, hard as fossils, and yet are human flesh, flesh so entire that when portions of it have been slowly

¹ August., *de Civ. Dei.*, Lib. I., cap. xii. De Sepultura humanorum corporum.

macerated, kneaded soft, and exposed to the atmosphere, it has passed through the ordinary processes of putrescence and dissolution, as if the patient had breathed his last but a few days before. The mummification of the body was intended to express a belief that after the revolution of many ages it would be reunited to the soul that left it, or, in other words, that there would be a resurrection of the dead, and, after the resurrection, a life immortal.

Belief like that of Abraham, when he buried his wife Sarah in the cave of Machpelah, was confessed by Joseph when he caused the Egyptian physicians to embalm the body of his father Jacob, and when he directed that his own body, also, should be buried with his father's. The faith of the Egyptians was greatly depraved, there can be no doubt; nay, it was utterly changed, and become almost as different from God's original teaching as darkness when the light is quenched from day departed, yet it contained this vestige of the original truth of the resurrection of the body. It is set forth in what is called "the Book of the Dead," a collection of mystic sentences, indefinitely large, apportioned into chapters, of which the 155th comes to our present point. Ideally, it is to be addressed to the god Osiris by the soul of the deceased Egyptian when it enters into the world of immortality, the body remaining in the mummy-chest:

"Hail, my father Osiris! Thy limbs are with thee; thou dost not corrupt; thou dost not turn to worms. Thou dost not putrefy. Thou dost not decay. Thou dost not change into worms. . . . I am! I live! I live! I grow! I grow! I wake in peace. I am not

corrupted. I am not suffocated there. I grow tall. My substance is not sent away. My ear does not grow deaf. My head does not separate. My tongue has not been taken away. My eye-brow is not plucked out. No injury is done to my body.”¹

In the common mind of antiquity, Jewish, Christian, and Pagan too, the custom of decent burial was associated with the hope of resurrection. Of the Jews Tacitus affirms, having knowledge only of their custom, without any information of its origin, that “they preserved the bodies of the dead, after the manner of the Egyptians, rather than burn them.”²

“Nature,” says Philo the Jew, “allots to all human beings a habitable home, not only while they are alive, but after death, and Nature herself not only looks for the first birth, but for a perfect transmigration out of this life.”³

So long as Christianity and Paganism existed side by side, Christian burials and heathen burnings of the dead were taken for distinctive marks. The heathens, indeed, thought it ignominious for a human body to be exposed to vultures and jackals, and cruel to deprive a disembodied soul of rest, by withholding those last rites which could so easily be rendered, whether the body were burnt or buried; but the Christians had reasons of their own for preferring the grave to the pyre. They not only bore in mind

¹ Translated by Samuel Birch, LL.D., in *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, by Baron Bunsen, Vol. V.

² Corpora condere quàm cremare, e more Ægyptio. *Tacit. Hist.*, Lib. V.

³ Ἀνθρώποις καὶ πᾶσι χερσαίοις οἰκειότερον ἢ φύσις χωρίον ἀπένειμε γῆν, οὐ μόνον ζῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανούσιν, ἕν, ἢ αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὑποδέχεται γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βίου τελευταίαν ἀνάλυσιν. *In Flaccum*.

the examples found in the Old Testament Scriptures, but they considered that the example of their Saviour's burial in Joseph's tomb ought to be religiously followed. So said Augustine, "Whatever was done on the cross of Christ, in his burial, in his resurrection, on the third day, in his ascension into heaven, and his sitting at the Father's right hand, was so done that in those things, not merely spoken mystically, but actually performed, that life should be prefigured which the Christian leads." ¹

Minutius Felix, discoursing with his friend Cœcilius on the resurrection of the body, and referring to the different funeral customs of Christians and heathens, expresses himself thus: "Every corpse, whether it is dried up into dust, or is dissolved in moisture, or is reduced to ashes, or wastes away in putrefaction, is lost to us, but is reserved for God, the keeper of the elements. We do not fear, as you imagine, any damage which may be done to the tomb, but we observe the old and better custom of burying in the earth." ²

Very much more might be adduced to prove that the Christians who had cast off heathenism uniformly rejected burial with incineration, and were said to execrate the funeral pyres. They well knew the lowering influence of such practices on the public

¹ Quicquid gestum est in cruce Christi, in sepultura, in resurrectione tertio die, in ascensione in Coelum, et in sede ad dextram Patris, ita gestum est, ut his rebus, non mysticè tantum dictis, sed etiam gestis configuraretur vita Christiana quæ hic geritur. *Ad Laur.*, Cap. 53.

² Corpus omne, sive arescit in pulverem, sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur, vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis; sed Deo, elementorum custodi, reservatur. Nec, ut creditis, ullum damnum sepulturae timemus, sed veterem et meliorem consuetudinem humando frequentamus. *Octavii*, Cap. XI.

mind, and the spirit which usually actuated those who followed them. They understood how powerful was the humanizing tendency of their own funeral solemnities, and they felt how closely associated in the Christian mind is reverent care for the body of the departed with a consolatory faith in all that Holy Scripture teaches concerning the resurrection of the dead. Not without careful deliberation, not in haste or superstition, but in disregard of adverse opinion, they followed the old and better custom, and devoutly committed ashes to ashes, and dust to dust, in sure and certain hope of a resurrection to everlasting life.

And who is there that would not have the mortal remains of his beloved parent, or wife, or infant child laid gently in the coffin with every circumstance of humane and Christian tenderness, and await, amidst reverential silence the hour of interment? Who would not have the long-loved countenance seen, if seen at all, in the peaceful and solemn tranquillity of death, while yet the features show the calm repose which tells that there is no more pain nor sorrow, and then tend with assiduous affection, for the sake of the undying soul, the frame which was its earthly tenement, and so follow it to its last resting-place, where the dust shall bide until the trumpet sounds, when the dead shall be raised incorruptible?

Better it is for the living to mingle in prayer at the last funeral solemnities for preparation to die in faith in Him who has gone to prepare a place for us in heaven, where He is the first-fruits of them that sleep, than to be beating the drums of Tophet, or carrying the parricidal torch in Hindostan.

WITCHCRAFT A CAPITAL CRIME.

EXODUS XXII. 18; LEVITICUS XX. 27;

DEUTERONOMY XVIII. 9-12.

IN an account of the Rollin Papyri in the Imperial Library of Paris, published by M. Pleyte in 1868,¹ I find the following note on Papyrus, 1888.

“This document dates from the time of Rameses III., Prince of Heliopolis. M. Chabas published it in an hieroglyphic transcription of the Harris Papyrus, p. 169, et seq., and added a commentary with the translation of that papyrus. M. Deveria, publishing the judicial Papyrus of Turin, has also discussed the Rollin and Lee Papyri, these last being in relation with his manuscript. I may therefore be excused from writing an extended comment thereupon, and simply transcribe the translation of M. Chabas, adding the corrections or remarks of M. Deveria.

Line 1. “It has happened [happened] to him to make magic writings *pour repousser* (and) to torment [force] to make some [certain] gods of *menh* [wax] and some men [certain figures] of the same substance to paralyse the limbs [give paralysis to the arms] of men; (2) and to do by the hand of the slave Kamin that

¹ *Les Papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Paris*, publiés et commentés par W. Pleyte, Leide, 1868.

which Pharaoh does not permit a chief of his house to do and other great crimes [and to place them in the hand of Paibakakamin; but the sun-god has not suffered this major-domo to act nor the other great criminals] by saying that they would produce [let them penetrate] (3) in making them produce themselves [penetrate].

“And he has addicted himself to doing the villanies (*mechancetés*) which he has committed, from which Pharaoh does not permit him to draw any profit, and he has been very cunning, and found out the true means for all the (4) abominations and all the villanies of which his heart had conceived the thought, and has really practised them with some very great crimes.

“So because the abominations which he (5) has committed are worthy of death; for they are the greatest abominations of the world which he has committed, consequently he is convicted of abominations worthy of death which he has committed. He shall therefore die.”

M. Pleyte would assign to this Papyrus the date B.C. 1260.

More than two hundred years before this date denunciations of death for witchcraft were written in the Mosaic law. “Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.”¹ “A man also or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or that is a wizard, shall surely be put to death: they shall stone them with stones: their blood shall be upon them.”² “When thou art come into the land which the LORD thy God giveth thee, thou shalt not learn to do after the abominations of those nations. There shall not be found among you any one that

¹ Ex. xxii. 18.

² Lev. xx. 27.

maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer. For all these things are an abomination unto the Lord."¹

But there is an essential difference between the accidental sentence recorded in this papyrus in the reign of Rameses III., and the absolute and unexceptional condemnation in the law of Moses. Four centuries and a half before this Pharaoh, Joseph in Egypt practised divination,² and according to the record now before us the kindred art of witchcraft was in effect permitted by Pharaoh, being so limited by the same authority that the wizard might not derive any profit from it. The abomination complained of in the papyri did not lie in the art itself, but in the crimes committed by its aid, whereas the abomination condemned in the Pentateuch lay in the art itself. The crimes punished by Pharaoh were offences against the royal authority of Pharaoh, and the property or life of man, but the crime of witchery was to be punished amongst the Israelites as an offence to God. In modern legislation witchcraft is punished as a civil offence, while, as a religious offence it should still be marked and condemned wherever it exists, for it is a remnant of Paganism, and implies a belief in powers which are not, and a sinful mistrust of the power and goodness of Almighty God. The ignorant and superstitious are to be plainly taught, and the impostors, yet only *as such*, ought to be punished by the civil magistrate.

¹ Deut. xviii. 9-12.

² Gen. xliv. 5.

But the reason of the Mosaic prohibition above quoted should be fully understood. It will be remembered that when Moses and Aaron presented themselves before Pharaoh demanding the release of the Israelites, Pharaoh employed the wise men and the sorcerers to encounter them with their enchantments, which they did, and for a time they seemed able to contend successfully with the representatives of the God of the Hebrews, but after a time their powers failed. Moses and Aaron stood alone in possession of miraculous power, which the baffled magicians of Egypt acknowledged to be the power of God. There had been an open contest between the God of Israel and the gods of Egypt.

Now the magicians had believed, or pretended to believe, as was the common faith of Egypt, that the worshipper, invoking the god by name, identified himself with the god, and that the name of the god was in itself a power. Jamblicus is the most accessible authority on this subject, and although he is comparatively modern, a few words from him are sufficient to express the doctrine. "If names were given artificially, you might use them or not at discretion; but if they perfectly correspond to the nature of things, as they most entirely harmonise with nature itself they are exceedingly agreeable to the gods. Hence it is evident how the speech of holy nations is preferred to that of other men." No other language than this can adequately express their meaning or convey their force. "Therefore the gods delight to be invoked with Egyptian rites, because the Egyptians, first of mortals, attained to knowledge of the gods." Hence it follows that these rites or forms which are most

united to the gods, and which unite us to them, have in them a power almost equal to that of the gods themselves."¹

The names of gods were therefore assumed by the magicians, who fancied themselves thereby identified with them, and quite competent to act as gods. So in the "Harris Papyrus" there is a charm to protect its wearer from crocodiles. The writer says, "Do not attack me. I am Ammon. I am Assur, the good guardian. I am the grand master of the sword. Do not rise! I am Mont. Do not attempt to catch me! I am Set. Do not lift your two feet against me! I am Sothis. Do not touch me! I am Sethis. Then they (crocodiles) that are in the water must not come out; they that have come out must not go in again; and they that are floating on the water must lie on the wave as if they were dead; and their mouths must be shut, as the seven great secrets are shut up, shut up for ever."

Another against the bite of serpents, written on a small papyrus in the Louvre: "It is like Set, the asp, the malignant serpent, whose poison burns. The (serpent) that comes to enjoy the light, let him be hidden. He who dwells in Thebes approaches to thee; go away, remain in thy hole. I am Isis, the widow broken down with grief. Wouldest thou rise up against Osiris? He lies in the midst of the waters where the fishes eat, where the birds drink, where the nets take their prey, so long Osiris lies still and suffers it. Turn, lord of On, thy heart is satisfied and triumphant. They who are in the tomb are in acclamations; they who are in the coffin are given up to

¹ *Jamblicus de Mysteriis*, VII., 5.

gladness, when they see the son of Osiris overthrowing his father's enemies, receiving the white crown of his father Osiris, and punishing the wicked. Come, arise! Osiris-Sap, for thine enemies are beaten."

The same idea of wonderworking, of subduing adverse powers, and of moving heaven as well as earth, is carried even into the realm of death. "The Book of the Dead" consists of chapters replete, as was believed, with supernatural power. When the dead body had been disembowelled for embalming, a small scarabeus of marble covered with gold, was put into the place of the heart, and these words were pronounced magically, "My heart is my mother, my heart is in my transformations." At the end of one of the chapters, one of the most obscure and mystic of the whole, we read, "If this chapter is known, he (the dead person) shall be proclaimed justified in the land of Ker-neter (the departed); he shall do all that the living do. This is what a great god has composed. This chapter was found in Sessennu (Hermopolis), written in blue on a cube of Hæmatite under the feet of this god; it was found in the days of king Mycereinus, the justified, by his royal son Har-du-duf, when he was travelling to inspect the accounts of the temples. He retraced in it a hymn while he was in ecstasy, he carried it in the king's chariots, when he saw what was written there. This is a great mystery. One neither sees nor hears anything more in reciting this chapter pure and holy. Do not approach women any more. Eat neither flesh nor fish, put it in the place of the person's heart, repeat it over magically, My heart is my mother," etc.¹

¹ *Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Chapter 64.

In the same way all the affairs of the Egyptian, in life and in death, were carried on under the rules of magic, or enchantment, and the injunction, *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live*,¹ does not refer merely to a superstitious or artful woman practising that particular kind of trickery known with us as witchcraft, but to the sort of enchantment prevalent in Egypt, and in another form in Chaldea, Babylonia, and Assyria. It was, in short, practical idolatry, and was fully equivalent with denial of the true and only God. To practise their accustomed acts among the Hebrews would be to set up heathen gods among them. Death was the penalty already appointed for that crime. It was treason against the King of heaven and earth.

¹ מְכַשְׁפִּים לֹא תִחְיֶה : the magicians of Egypt, also called מְכַשְׁפִּים worked בְּלַחְמֵיהֶם with their magic arts, undoubtedly such as were in all ages in that country used by all the ministers of their religion.

SPIRIT-WORSHIP.

DEUTERONOMY XXXII. 17, etc.

EXPOSITORS have not succeeded in efforts to describe all the objects and forms of "strange worship"¹ mentioned in the Old Testament. Some Israelites killed and sacrificed their victims in the open fields (Lev. xvii. 3-5); offering them to devils² (Deut. xxxii. 17); and to new gods come newly up (*ibid.*). They ate sacrifices of the dead (Ps. cvi. 28); sacrificed their sons and daughters unto devils³ (Ps. cvi. 37); prepared a table for that troop,⁴ and furnished the drink offering for that number.⁵ (Is. lxv. 11.) Manasseh and Ahab, each of them made a grove, or mystic tree.⁶ (2 Ki. xxi. 3.) Kings and people gave horses to the sun, wrought abominations with familiar spirits,⁷ and burned incense to the sun, moon, planets, and constellations.⁸ (2 Ki. xxiii. 11, 24, 25.) Apart from the worship of the greater gods, whose names are familiar, there was much creature-worship, not merely the worship of creatures, but superstitious invocations and objurgations of demons, or *genii*, monsters, powers, "that troop," "that multitude." A few passages of the Sacred Text are noted here, and

¹ This conveniently comprehensive name עבודה זרה, is Talmudical.

² שירים.

³ שדים.

⁴ לגר.

⁵ למני.

⁶ אשרה. This object has a prominent place in many Assyrian sculptures.

⁷ האובות.

⁸ ולמזלות לכל צבא השמים.

any one may refer to the places in a Reference-Bible, and find many more.

Having endeavoured to point out the nature and sinfulness of the witchcraft practised by Egyptian magicians in my note on the law, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," I will now try to illustrate, by examples from another source, this sort of strange worship into which the Hebrews fell after their deliverance from Egypt, as above referred to. The religion of Egypt was greatly different from that of Chaldea, Assyria, and Babylonia. The Egyptian concentrated his thoughts on Ra, Horus, Osiris, Amon, Isis, and a few lesser gods, and strangely associated, or rather identified himself with his gods. The high seats of Egyptian theosophy were in Egypt, and there continued until Judaism, Christianity, and at last Islam, swept away that singular religion from the face of the earth, but left its material creations to deliver its history to us of the present century. The spirit-worship afterwards adopted by the Israelites came to them, through the Babylonians, from a very remote source. For what I have to say on this subject I must acknowledge myself indebted to M. François Lenormant, who is allowed precedence in the study of the Accadian language, or dialect, said to be the most difficult and most barbaric of those which are found written in the cuneiform character, or perhaps originally in the yet more simple lineal stamping on the bricks from Warka. He has written an important volume.¹

¹ *La Magie chez les Chaldéens, et les Origines Accadiennes*, par François Lenormant, Paris, 1874, now about to be published in English by S. Bagster and Sons.

The Accadian language, it should be explained, is that of the Accads. The first impression would be that it takes its name from the city of Accad, built by Nimrod in Shinar, but Assyriologists concur in placing the seat of that language far to the north. The ancient city now known as Nisibis, or Nisibin, on the river Khabour, at about lat. 37° N. and long. $41^{\circ} 15'$ E., may have been called the city of Accad, or *mountaineers*. The mountaineers who spoke it may have had this city for their capital. They roamed, it is believed, in the vast Iranian plateau, or highland S.W. of the Caspian, in the wilds of Great Media. But, like other geographical questions of the kind, this is difficult.

Those rude mountaineers are said to have had a superstition of their own, which gave them great influence in the times of darkness. They travelled southward very early, bringing with them their peculiar language and rudiments of a literature as rude as themselves. It was accepted, perhaps for the sake of the incantations written in it; and they, the enchanters, existed as a distinct and honoured caste. For many ages the Accadian language was used for religious and scientific writings in Babylonia and Assyria, just as was Latin in Europe until sometime after the invention of printing; the Assyrian language being used for historical records and official documents. The oldest bricks found in the ruins of Erech, or Warka, a city probably founded by Nimrod (Gen. x. 11), are stamped with a primitive character, almost simply rectilineal, not yet arrow-headed, and very differently arranged from the later inscriptions. All that is most ancient, and most purely Accadian,

is of the character now described, but in later times, and certainly when Assyria and Babylonia were in communication with Palestine, the Assyrian element and the Accadian were mingled in one system, the latter being distinctly magian. The tablets which constituted the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh were many of them translated from the Accadian originals, laid up in Erech the sacred city, chief seat of science and religion, and among them there is a very large work on magic, supposed to cover not fewer than two hundred tablets. In the same library there is one tablet showing that there were in the Assyrian pantheon no fewer than *seven* gods of highest rank, *fifty* gods of heaven and earth, *three hundred* spirits of heaven, and *six hundred* spirits of earth. These last were probably contributed from the old books of Accad.

These old books, so far as they can be traced, enable M. Lenormant to gain a knowledge of the religious system of the Accads, which serves as a key to much that is written in the Scriptural passages now before us, and others of the kind. It is founded on a belief of innumerable personal spirits dispersed throughout all nature, sometimes confounded with the things they animate, and sometimes separate from them. These spirits, everywhere present, produce all the phenomena of nature; they direct and animate all the beings of creation. They are the cause of both good and evil. They guide the movements of the heavenly bodies, keep the seasons in order, cause winds to blow, rains to fall, storms to rage, and sun to shine. By their fostering care the earth yields her fruits, infants are born, and by their

adverse influence men fall sick and die. Everywhere they swarm, in earth, and air, and sky. They have a well-defined personality, above the rank of men, and inferior to gods. But among them there is no trace of a supreme God, nor any first principle to rule them all. It is mere naturalism or fetishism, such as prevails with the Tartars and the Mongols.

As evil and good, adversity and prosperity, death and life, are side by side in the world, suggesting dualism in the later scheme of Zoroaster, so the magician-priests of Accad conceived the spiritual world to consist of spirits essentially good and naturally bad. Throughout the universe opposing bands were in never-ceasing conflict, and mankind rejoiced or were troubled by their alternate victories and defeats. To the spirit-worshippers there was universal discord, and no being, great or small, could find shelter from the universal war. Mankind, if there be any standard of right and wrong in the Accadian hymns, could only sin by neglecting magical ceremonies, and a man could only be safe when propitiating angry spirits by the ministry of authorised magicians. All his happiness was supposed to come by the favour of good spirits, and all his misery from the malice of bad ones. For prayer he used enchantments, and the enchantments were couched in mysterious words which only skilled magicians were able to pronounce. In reality, the supernatural power of the magician was considered to be the only buckler of defence against convulsions of nature, and violence of devils. Such was the spirit of the wretched superstition which fascinated, enslaved, and ruined the children of Israel.

A large tablet from the royal palace of Nineveh¹ contains a set of twenty-eight forms of deprecatory incantation against the action of evil spirits, sorceries, diseases, and misfortunes. The following are examples from a sort of litany:

“The bad god, the bad demon. The demon of the desert, the demon of the mountain. The demon of the sea, the demon of the marsh. The bad genius, the huge *uruku* (spectre). The wind that is bad by itself. The bad demon that seizes the body, that shakes the body.

“Spirit of heaven, remember it. Spirit of earth, remember it.

“That which never lets one prosper, that which is not favourable. That which forms knots (to injure one), the angry ulcer. The ulcer that eats out the flesh, the spreading ulcer, the ulcer which gives extreme pain. The ulcer that breaks out in many places, the malignant ulcer. Spirit of heaven,” etc.

Other sentences which describe bodily ailments with excessive minuteness.

“He that is dying of hunger in irons. He that is dying of thirst in irons. He that is hungry in a ditch. Supplicant (reduced to eat) the dust. He who in the earth or in the river perishes and dies. The woman-slave who has no more a master. The free woman who has no husband. He who leaves his name to infamy. He whose name is forgotten. He who in hunger cannot find relief. He who falls sick. Spirit of heaven, etc.

“Two bands of white stuff serving for phylacteries

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, by Sir H. C. Rawlinson and Mr. Norris, Vol. II., plates 17, 18.

on the bed that is laid on the floor. As talisman with the right hand if he writes. Two bands of black stuff serving for the left hand if he writes. The bad demon, the bad *alal* (destroyer), the bad *gigim*. The bad *telal* (warrior). The bad god, the bad *maskim* (ensnarer). The phantom, the spectre, the vampire. The incubus, the succubus, the servant(?). The bad sortilege, the philtre, the poison that flows. That which gives pain, that which acts, that which is bad. Their head on his head. Their foot on his foot. They shall never seize him. They shall never return. Spirit of heaven, etc.

“The sea . . . the sea. The desert without water. The waters of the Tigris, the waters of the Euphrates. The mountain of darkness, the mountain of the East. The volcanic mountain. That they may close their depths. Spirit of heaven,” etc.

From the same collection :

“The plague and the fever which lay waste the country. The sickness . . . which devastates the country, bad for the body, fatal for the bowels. The evil demon, the bad destroyer, the bad *gigim*. The wicked man, the evil eye, the lying(?) mouth, the noisome tongue. From the man, son of his god, that they come out of his body, that they come out of his bowels. They shall never get possession of my body. They shall never do any mischief before me, they shall never walk behind me. They shall never enter into my house. They shall not have access to my building. They shall never come into the house where I dwell.

“Spirit of heaven, remember it. Spirit of earth, remember it.

- “ Spirit of Moul-ge, lord of the countries, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Nin-ge-lal, lady of the countries, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Nin-dar, mighty warrior of Moul-ge, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Pa-ku, sublime intelligence of Moul-ge, remember it.
- “ Spirit of En-zuna, eldest son of Moul-ge, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Tish-khu, lady of the armies, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Im, king whose impetuosity is beneficent, remember it.
- “ Spirit of Oud, (the sun) king of justice, remember it.
- “ Spirits of Annuna-ge (the earth), great gods, do you remember it.”

Then there is a grand conjuration, supported with invocations to several of these friendly spirits.

- “ The evening of bad luck, the region of heaven whence comes mischief.
- “ The fatal day, the region of the sky which portends evil.
- “ The fatal day, the region of the sky where an unlucky token rises.
- “ messengers of pestilence.
- “ Ravagers of Nin-ki-gal.
- “ Thunder which spreads terror over the land.
- “ The seven gods of the vast heaven.
- “ The seven gods of the vast earth.
- “ The seven gods of the fiery spheres.
- “ The seven gods of the heavenly legions.

“ The seven gods of mischief.

“ The seven evil phantoms.

“ The seven phantoms of flaming fire.

“ The seven gods of the sky.

“ The seven gods of the land.

“ The bad demon, the bad *alal*, the bad *gigim*, the bad god, the bad *maskim*.”

After copious examples of magical incantation, M. Lenormant gives another which, vain though it be, is suggestive of a better hope. It conveys the idea of intercession in heaven, when there is no resource left on earth. A sick person has used these objurgations without finding any relief, and a pitying spirit hastens to intercede, and the intercession is effectual.

“ Silik-mulu-khi has succoured him. He has gone into the presence of his father Hea, and has appealed to him : ‘ My father, that pain of the head came out of hell. To the sufferer of the sickness it has been said, Use the remedy; this man knows it not, but he is submissive to a remedy.’ Hea answered his son Silik-mulu-khi : ‘ My son, thou dost not know the remedy, but I teach thee the remedy. That which I know thou knowest. Come, my son Silik-mulu-khi. Take a bucket ; take water out of the river. On this water put thy sublime lip ; make it sparkle with purity. Succour the man, son of his god ; bind his head. Let the malady of his head fly off. Let the malady of his head be dissipated like the dew-drops of a night.’ ”

Then the magician who pronounces this charm, proceeds to apply the remedy which is therein prescribed : brings the water from the river, sips it with

his "sublime lip," binds the aching head, and bathes the parched skin, pronouncing a few more magic words :

"May the precept of Hea heal him! May Davkina (Hea's wife) heal him! May Silik-mulu-khi, eldest son of the ocean, form the image that shall help him."

It is easy to conceive how attractive such rites would be to the poor Israelites. A busy pagan priesthood, meddling with their affairs, having a separate ceremony for every passing incident, no doubt employing real remedies to do what enchantments could not effect, and professing to hold commerce with good spirits, to exert power over bad ones, and to have interest with a heavenly intercessor in the last resort, would charm the simpletons, although they could not charm the spirits of light nor the demons of darkness, but were at the beck of Ahab and Jezebel, and all the recreant kings of Israel and Judah. These were the priests that shouted to Baal on the height of Carmel. These were the false prophets that beset Micah, and conspired against Jeremiah. They set up Assyrian gods in the temple, prepared the chamber of imagery, and fell prostrate to worship the orient sun. It was not only the attraction of idol-worship, but the officious attentions of magicians that seduced the Israelites from the worship of the Lord their God.

DIVINATION.

 ISAIAH XLVII. 12, 13.

UNDER the general title of *Divination* we may include various forms of Chaldean superstition, prevalent not only in Chaldea, Babylonia, and Assyria, but far and wide over western and central Asia, borrowed by the Hebrews, and marked by the sacred writers with the strongest reprobation. The prophet Isaiah spake thus to Babylon: Daughter of the Chaldeans: "Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels (or *consultations*, עֲצָתֶיךָ). Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators, stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee." (Is. xlvii. 12, 13.) They seem to have trusted not so much in the gods as in sorcery and incantations. They did not so earnestly pray to their gods as practise occult arts for attaining their own objects, and the curious books of the Chaldeans will therefore furnish authentic material for explaining many passages of prophetic writings.

For example: we learn from Ezekiel (Eze. xxi. 21, 22) that Nebuchadnezzar, in perplexity, stood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways,

to use divination: he made his arrows bright, he consulted with teraphim; he looked into the liver of the victim sacrificed; at his right hand was the divination for Jerusalem; and then the priests gave him an oracular response: To appoint captains; To open the mouth in the slaughter; To lift up the voice with shouting; To appoint rams against the gates; To cast a mount; To build a fort. St. Jerome explains that brightening the arrows was a Babylonian custom. They divined by arrows, putting them into a quiver, with names written on the shafts, shaking them together, and drawing one out. The name written on the arrow would then determine the lot. This, he notes, the Greeks called *belomancy*, or *rabdomancy*: divination by arrows or by rods. The Babylonians, we learn, had a goddess called Allat, whose title was, lady of the arrow, or the rod.¹ Hosea lamented that the Hebrews had fallen into the same custom: "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them . . . they have gone a whoring (that is to say, they have committed apostasy), from under their God." (Hos. iv. 12.) How distinctly all such practices were forbidden, every one knows.²

Not only Nebuchadnezzar, all the kings of Babylon, consulted the diviners, and awaited omens before going on any expedition. A tablet in the British Museum contains the history of Sargon I. and his son Narum-sin, divided into fourteen paragraphs, each paragraph containing the account of a war,

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. III., p. 148 *n*. See also Eze. viii. 17.

² Deut. xviii. 10-12.

or other memorable event. At the head of each is the description of an omen from the moon under which the work was undertaken.¹

A great astrological work of the Babylonians and Assyrians, filling seventy tablets, was drawn up for the library of Sargon, king of Agane, in the sixteenth century before Christ. Twenty-five of these tablets contain the signs of heaven and earth, according to their good presage and their bad presage. During every day of the year all persons and things are supposed to be held under the dominion of sun, moon, and stars. Lucky and unlucky days are tabulated as punctually as fairs and festivals in a modern almanac. Two or three examples will be sufficient. First, we take the lines that are perfect from a list of twenty-nine stars with their influences when in the ascendant :

- “ If the star of the Dog, forces are in the country.
- “ If the star of the Bear, misfortune is in the land.
- “ If the star *Biazi*, abundance of rain.
- “ If the star of the Fish, justice is in the land.
- “ If the star *Allul*, peace is in the land.
- “ If the star *Tartakhi*, they are decreeing evil in the land.
- “ If the star of Concealment, destruction is in the land.
- “ If the star of *Cu-khia*, the house is purified.
- “ If the star of Destiny, pestilences are in the country.
- “ If the star *Irbie*, blessing is in the land.
- “ If the star of the Bright Body, strength is in the land.

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. V., p. 57.

“ If the star of the Rising Day, misfortunes are in the land.

“ If the star *Dilme*, happiness in the land they measure out.

“ If the star of the stone *Absia*, prodigies are in the country.

“ If the star of the stone of the bronze Fish, *possession*(?) of a good heart : there is peace(?).

“ If the star of Alabaster, blessing is in the land.

“ If the star of Gold, obedience is in the land.

“ If the star of Bronze, forces are in the land.

“ If the star of the Prophet(?), peace is in the land.

“ If the star of the Lion of the Sun, forces are in the land.”

From a table of portents we extract a few lines bearing record of eclipses, and what were said to be their doleful consequences :

“ On the 16th day an eclipse takes place. The king dies, and the marshes the streams irrigate.

“ On the 20th day an eclipse happens. The king on his throne is slain, and a nobody on the throne seizes.

“ On the 15th day an eclipse takes place. The king of Dilmun with the crown they slay him, and some one on the throne seizes.

“ On the 21st day an eclipse takes place. Devastation or rapine in the country is. Corpses in the country are.”

Scores more of the same sort, all of them betraying utter ignorance of the true God, and, compared with more ancient documents, a very near approach to utter atheism.¹

Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. III., p. 145, seq.

Not only were there omens and portents in the skies, but on the earth, and notably by dogs :

“ If a blue dog enters into a palace, that palace is burned.

“ If a yellow dog enters into a palace, exit from that palace will be baleful.

“ If a spotted dog enters into a palace, that palace no peace to the enemy gives.

“ If a dog to the palace goes, and no one kills, that palace its peace fails.

“ If a dog to the palace goes, and on a bed lies down, that palace none with his hand takes.

“ If a dog to the palace goes, and on a throne lies down, that palace is burned.

“ If a dog to the palace goes, and on the royal parasol lies down, that palace its peace to the enemy gives.

“ If a dog into a temple enters, the gods to the country grant no favour.

“ If a white dog into a temple enters, the foundation of that temple is not stable.

“ If a blue dog into a temple enters, that temple sees plenty.

“ If a yellow dog into a temple enters, that temple sees plenty.

“ If a spotted dog into a temple enters, that temple do the gods love.

“ If dogs crouch and into a temple enter, none this temple with his hand takes.”

Besides these omens there is a multitude of birth-portents, absurdly monstrous, indicating a depravity of perception quite incompatible with the idea of intellectual advancement which obtains, when the

external grandeur of Golden Babylon is mistaken for moral greatness, or when the "wisdom and the tongue of the Chaldeans" is thought of in association with the undoubted excellence of Daniel's wisdom.

The monthly prognosticators of whom Isaiah speaks, were probably representatives of the gods to whom the months were dedicated, as may be gathered from a list of the months, and their patron deities.

The cuneiform text, contained in the inscriptions published by the Trustees of the British Museum,¹ was translated by the late Mr. G. Smith,² and is appended by Mr. Sayce to his "Babylonian Saints' Calendar."³

- I "The month Nisan to Anu and Bel.
- 2 "The month Iyyar to Hea the lord of mankind.
- 3 "The month Sivan to the moon-god, the eldest son of Bel.
- "The month Tammuz to the warrior Adar.
- 5 "The month Ab to Allat, the mistress of the wood of the right hand.
- 6 "The month Elul to Istar, the lady of battle.
- 7 "The month Tisri to the sun-god, the warrior of the world.
- 8 "The month Marchesvan to the lord, the prince of the gods, Merodach.
- 9 "The month Chisleu to the mighty hero Nergal.
- 10 "The month Tebet to Pap-Succal, the messenger of Anu and Istar.
- 11 "The month Sebat to Rimmon, the minister of heaven and earth.

¹ *W. A. I.* IV., 33.

² Appendix to his *History of Assur-bani-pal*.

³ *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 169.

12 "The month Adar to the seven great gods.

13 "The month Ve-Adar to Assur, the father of the gods."

So with the ancient Persians, each month had its angel-patron, as also has each day; the angels of the days being of inferior dignity to those of the months.¹

¹ Hyde's *Religio Veterum Persarum*, Cap. xix.

DEATH FOR HERESY.

WE could find many very old examples of putting heretics to death, and an apologist might as easily contend that the reason for the deed was generally political. But let us hear a king of Assyria making heresy the criminal offence :

“Ashur-Akh-Bal, servant of Ashur, priest of Bel and Ninib, beloved by Anu and Dagon, worshipper of the great gods: the great king, the king of the nations, the king of Assyria The noble hero who went forth in the armed service of Ashur his lord against the kings of the four regions of the world as none had ever done before ; and smote the heretics who worship not the exalted things, in battles too numerous to be counted.

“Ashur-Akh-Bal, the glorious ruler, the favourite of the great gods. The sun of great splendour, the conqueror of cities and lands with all their people ; *the king of kings, the chastiser of heretics ; the scourge of those who worship not the sacrifices ; the great smiter of the disobedient ; the destroyer of rulers who reject my royalty, and of heretics and rebellious men.*”¹

Titles are these too grand to be forgotten, even when the power they indicate has perished. The spirit of Ashur-Akh-Bal is no less clearly expressed

¹ “Standard Inscription of Ashur-Akh-Bal,” translated by H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S., *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 9.

in another of his inscriptions, from which the following sentences are extracted :

“The man who shall not spare the face of these my tablets, who shall injure the written records of my name, who shall destroy these sculptures, or tear them off, or hide them in the earth, or bury them in the ashes, or burn them with fire, or drown them in the waters: or who shall remove them from their place and throw them down where they will be trampled on by animals, and shall place them in the pathway of the cattle: or who shall falsify my tablets, which are now sculptured with good and pious words, and shall write on the face of my records anything that is bad and impious: or who shall change the words so as to confound the meaning; whether he be a nobleman, or an officer, or any one else among my people, or who shall scrawl on the tablets I have written, and shall say that they are not true; or, out of contempt, shall turn the face of my tablets backward :

“May Ashur the great lord, the god of Assyria, the lord of all royal crowns, curse his reign and destroy his works! May he shake the foundations of his kingdom! May want and famine, sickness and distress, prevail throughout his land.”¹

It was more than political passion that moved the ancestors of the Pharisees, on whom came all the righteous blood shed upon the earth, from the blood of righteous Abel to the blood of Zacharias, son of Barachias, whom they slew between the porch and the altar. (Matt. xxiii. 35.)

¹ “Monolith Inscription of Ashur-Akh-Bal,” translated by H. Fox Talbot, F.R.S., *Records of the Past*, Vol. VII., p. 15.

THE FALLEN ANGELS.

JOB IV. 17-19; XV. 15, 16.

WHEN, or by what means, the fall of the angels was made known to man, it is not possible to say, and there is no direct revelation of that event in Holy Scripture. Yet it appears to be distinctly recognised. St. Peter speaks of their sin and punishment as an example of God's vengeance on the disobedient. "If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment . . . the Lord knoweth how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." (2 Pet. ii. 4-9.) St. Jude says that "the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, (the Lord) hath reserved in everlasting chains, under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day." (Jude 6.) Beyond these allusions to an event believed at the time when these two Apostles wrote, and apparently sanctioned the belief, we have no direct information.

There are, however, three passages in the book of Job, whence we learn that such belief was current in Arabia when that book was written. Eliphaz the Temanite, reasoning with Job concerning the liability of all creatures to fall into sin, sought to fortify his

argument by allusion to something which had taken place in heaven. "Shall mortal man be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker? Behold he (his Maker) put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly: how much less in them that dwell in houses of clay?" (Job iv. 17-19.) Eliphaz again, discoursing on the sinfulness of men, alleges the sinfulness of angels: "God putteth no trust in his saints; yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight. How much more abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water?" (Job xv. 15, 16.) Bildad the Shuhite, speaking like a Sabian, takes up the same argument, and like Eliphaz, who had asked, "Shall man be more just than God . . . more pure than his Maker?" attributes sin to the gods: "Behold, even to the moon (which is deified) and it shineth not; yea, the stars (also deified) are not pure in his sight: how much less man, that is a worm? and the son of man, which is a worm?" (Job xxv. 5, 6.) I suppose the Shuhite to speak as a Sabian, figuratively; for the waning of the moon, literally speaking, could have no value in a moral argument; neither could purity or impurity, so speaking, be attributed to the stars. Job, in the land of Uz, was a worshipper of the true God, his "servant, Job;" and both Eliphaz and Bildad speak as men who have some knowledge of him. So had Melchisedek, so had Balaam the Moabite, and many others; but their knowledge was generally very imperfect, and their notions very erroneous. In the present case they spoke like Arabs, and it is evident from some observations of Job, that the worship of the heavenly bodies was common in his neighbourhood. I suppose,

therefore, that these friends of his represent the opinions of their countrymen; and I venture to think that what they say of holy ones, heavens, servants and angels of God in the heavenly world, must be understood in the sense familiar to Nabathæan Arabs of their day; and I accept it as evidence that those Arabs had a tradition of sins of angels.

Here, then, late in the New Testament, and early in the Old, we find mention of an extra-biblical belief in the revolt of some spirits in heaven, and their consequent expulsion into a state of degradation and misery. The later allusions are far more distinct than the former, which merely intimate that a belief was entertained among the Temanite and Shuhite Arabs that angels or gods had been guilty of some transgression. We can perceive no more than the indistinct vestige of a failing tradition. Yet the credit given by two of our Lord's Apostles to the tradition challenges our respect, to say the very least.

Among the most recent Assyrian discoveries is a large clay tablet, found at Nineveh, and translated by Mr. Smith, containing a myth of certain rebellious angels. They had been created, it says, in the lower part of heaven, and there they devised an evil work. They were seven in number. The first and second of them were of dreadful form, but the inscription is much obliterated, and cannot be perfectly deciphered. The third had the form of a leopard; the fourth (had that of) a serpent. The fifth was a dreadful monster, but its form is lost. The sixth, however shaped, was a violent "striker, which to God and king did not submit." The seventh was a messenger of evil. These details are simply mythical.

“The seven of them, messengers of the god Anu their king, from city to city went round. The tempest of heaven was strongly bound to them; the flying clouds of heaven surrounded them; the downpour of the skies, which in the bright day makes darkness, was attached to them with a violent wind, an evil wind, they began; the tempest of Vul was their might, at the right hand of Vul they came, from the surface of heaven like lightning they darted; descending to the abyss of waters, at first they came. In the wide heavens of the god Anu the king, evil they set up, and an opponent they had not.”¹

Bel hears of the mischief the banded angels have done, and he calls in the sun-god, the moon-god, and Ishtar, to suppress the rebellion, but so far were they from doing that, that the rebellious angels brought over *Shamas* (the sun), and Anu, and Vul, and Ishtar, attached them to their party, and fixed them in the government of heaven. Thenceforth the Assyrian heaven is wretchedly debased, all the gods are in confusion, and from that time good and evil have been contending in the universe, without arriving at such an issue that any can say whether evil or good has the best of the fight. The tablet is much defaced, and the translation is very incomplete, but at last it appears that “Bel, seeing the confusion in heaven, resolves to place there the sun, the moon, and Venus, which typifies the stars, that these heavenly orbs may rule and direct the heavens.” If so, we may suppose that the myth confounds the

¹ *Assyrian Discoveries*. An account of Explorations, etc., in 1873 and 1874, by George Smith, London, 1875, fourth edition, p. 394, lines 15-27.

fall of angels and the chaos which preceded the creation into one unintelligible maze.

All that we can learn from it is, that some event which it was not within the scope of divine revelation to make known in the Old Testament, left its memory in the traditions of the East, among the descendants of Abraham especially; that it is not essential to the system of saving truth, but may be usefully referred to for the same end as St. Peter and St. Jude had in view; and the moral drawn from it by the Arabian friends of Job is in full agreement with the teaching of these Apostles.¹

My own reason for quoting the Assyrian, or perhaps more properly, the Chaldean legend, is to exhibit the harmony of tradition with revelation; for although the fall of the angels cannot be said to have been revealed to these two Apostles, it must be granted that two inspired men have given it their sanction, and so it is brought within the circle of truths revealed; and the tablet before us becomes most certainly a Biblical monument.

I refrain from pursuing the subject any further, but leave it for further reflection. I do not at present discuss the sentence of our Lord where he says, that he saw Satan as lightning fall from heaven.

¹ They gave it their sanction as a tradition, if not as a fact, and so made use of it for popular illustration, as St. Jude also makes of the legend of a dispute of Michael the archangel and Satan over the body of Moses. (Jude 9.)

DEMONIACS.

FROM Assyrian and Egyptian monuments considerable light has been cast on passages of the Old Testament relating to witchcraft and incantation. All such arts are treated by the sacred writers in terms of condemnation and abhorrence; and any further information we gain from paganism in its lowest forms, Talmudic Judaism, and the archives of the Inquisition. I now propose to make some observations on demonology so far as it relates to certain passages in the New Testament.

Early in the Gospels we read of diabolic agency: "Jesus was led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil." (Matt. iv. 1.) The fame of Jesus "went throughout all Syria, and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those which were possessed with devils, and those which were lunatic, and those which had the palsy, and he healed them." (Matt. iv. 24.) Both in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles there are very remarkable instances of demoniacal possession. One such occurs in the narrative of St. Paul's visit to Philippi, where a damsel having a spirit of divination cried after Paul and Silas, "These men are the servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of salvation." (Acts xvi. 16-18.) The pythoness, like the demoniac

of Gadara, acknowledged Christ, and the evil spirit was cast out of both. To deny the existence of evil spirits, and their malignant operations, which began with our first parents, would be inconsistent with rational belief. How much of imposture, delusion, and falsehood soever there has been in cases of possession imagined or pretended, it is nevertheless true, that Satan, the devil, Beelzebub, are names of an evil one that exists; and that unclean spirits have actually caused sickness and insanity. Demonology, however, has entered into the false religions of the world, and corrupted the true; and, as an occult art, it has been a mischievous craft and an abomination, but the belief in wicked spirits can be traced far back in the history of mankind.

A tribe of Accads, or mountaineers, the Scyths of Iran, a region in ancient Media in very remote antiquity, amongst the earliest migrations by which the post-diluvian generations dispersed themselves over the world, appear to have been the first propagators of this dark science. They came down southward, and first made themselves known to posterity in Chaldea. They wrote in clay, in a primitive character, out of which came the cuneiform; and their language is now called Accadian. The tablets were written and baked in Erech (Gen. x. 10), copied ages afterward, and copies have been lately found in the ruins of Nineveh, brought over to London, and translated. A learned French Assyriologue, M. François Lenormant, has made them the subject of special study, and I have elsewhere made use of his labour. Babylonians and Assyrians imbibed the superstition. The Jews during the Babylonish captivity

were deeply tainted with it, and it became very greatly aggravated among them in succeeding ages. The fundamental doctrine of the Accads was, that every disorder of the body or the mind, and every disastrous event, was the work of an evil spirit. They named and classified those malignant agents. They believed in good spirits also, and called upon the good ones to deliver them from the bad ones. Their mention of gods was less frequent, and any imperfect notion of one supreme God which lingered among them was but faintly perceptible in the wording of their enchantments. Their notions and their practices spread throughout the East, and whether from them, or other emigrants from the sub-Caucasian region, or, which I venture to think most likely, from the very tenants of the ark, and their immediate progeny, the superstition flowed into Africa, and in another form appeared among the old Egyptians, and ripened into the fetishism of the negroes.

In the "former prophets" of the Old Testament it shows itself distinctly in the history of king Saul. That king was troubled by an evil spirit, and I venture to express an opinion that in that case, as in others generally, the visitation was retributive; that they who believed in the power of demons, feared them, or invoked them, were more or less abandoned to their pernicious influence. "The Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. And Saul's servants said unto him, Behold, now, *an evil spirit from God troubleth thee.*" (I Sam. xvi. 14, 15.)

Not only is the existence and operation of evil spirits acknowledged in Holy Scripture, but it is

distinctly said that the Israelites, soon after their deliverance from Egypt, worshipped the same demons as the Gentiles. "The children of Israel . . . shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring" (Levit. xvii. 7); which is the significant phrase applied to apostasy from God. "They provoked him to jealousy with strange gods; with abominations provoked they him to anger. They sacrificed unto devils, not to God, to gods whom they knew not, to new gods that came newly up, whom your fathers feared not." (Deut. xxxii. 17.) Devil-worship, with sacrifices to appease the spirits of darkness, was part of the false religion they adopted, according to the prophetic song of Moses. The same accusation is laid against them most emphatically by the Psalmist; "*Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the idols of Canaan: and the land was polluted with blood.*" (Ps. cvi. 37, 38.) This was the sin of Ahaz, the king who brought the Assyrian idolatry to Jerusalem, setting up the altar, the imagery, and the worship he had seen in Damascus in the temple of God, fraught as that worship was with the demonolatry of the Accads, and its degrading magic.

From the return of the Jews and rebuilding of Jerusalem to the time of our Lord's ministry, the process of deterioration had been steadily advancing, for even in the reign of Antiochus the apostasy of multitudes to idolatry was the crying sin which aroused the zeal of Judas Maccabeus, and serves to account for the extraordinary prevalence of demoniacal

possession. It is a most notable fact that the Rabbinical expositors of Holy Scripture went very far beyond the letter of the text. First of all, the Targumists, in their earliest translations. For example:

The Alexandrian translators in their Greek Targum, in the third century before Christ, instead of the Hebrew of Ps. xci. 5, 6, which is faithfully represented in our English Bible, "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day," write, "Thou shalt not be afraid of the nocturnal terror, of the arrow that flieth by day, of the thing that walketh about in darkness, of the sudden sickness and *the noon-day demon*."¹ The Chaldee Targum, of a later age, goes to a greater length: "Thou shalt not be afraid of the terror of the (*mazikin*) violent demons that go about at night, nor of the arrow of the angel of death which destroyeth by day, nor of the death that walketh in darkness, nor of the *shidin* (destroying demons) that smite in clear day."²

In a passage where the Hebrew is difficult, and our English is poetical, "Satyrs shall dance there," the Alexandrian Targum, as I take leave to call it, says, "*Demons* shall dance there."³ Aquila and Theodotian treat the difficulty as one of zoology, but the Chaldee Targumist cuts the knot, and writes down *devils*.⁴ (Is. xiii. 22.)

¹ δαμονίου μεσημβρινου.

² לא תהיה מן דלוחא דמויקי דאולין בליליא מן גרא דמלאך מותא דשדי ביממא :
מן מותא די בקלא מהלך מסיעת שדין דמהבלין בטיהרא :

³ δαμόνια.

⁴ שדין.

Some of their chief commentators have gone so far astray in their speculations, or have borrowed so freely from the Talmud, that one might almost fancy they were themselves possessed. For example: on these plain words, "I will visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes" (Ps. lxxxix. 32), Yarkhi asserts that *the stripes* were to be stripes of man, or of Adam, human chastisement or chastisers, as are the *shidim*, or devils, such as were the sons of Adam, "according to our faith." He had learnt this from the Talmudists, who write that the first Adam, when he was rebuked of God for having eaten of the tree of life, was excommunicated for a hundred and thirty years, and did not beget any children after his own likeness until that time had expired. The words of the Talmud are these: "R. Jeremiah, son of Elieser, said: In all those years, while Adam was under the curse of excommunication, he begat spirits, devils, and spectres of the night. And Adam lived a hundred and thirty years, and then begat children in his own image and likeness."¹ Other Talmudic sages descant at pleasure on this monstrous invention, which I quote sparingly for the sake of observing that it is no more than the natural fruit of the demonology taught in Chaldea by the barbarians from the north, learned by the Jews in Babylon, grafted on Jewish credulity, and so incorporated with the tradition that was rife when our Lord was in Jerusalem, and perpetuated in the writings of the Rabbis.

This was among the traditions which He rebuked. But the people were debased by the paganism

¹ Buxtorf, *Lex. Rab. Chal. Talm.*, s. v. שׂוּר.

inherited from their fathers, and had become as justly liable to the retributive penalty of actual demoniacal possession as was their first king when he forsook his God, and the Spirit of the Lord left him, and an evil spirit from God troubled him. It is not unlikely that the Yezideans, or devil-worshippers of Syria and Persia, with some other heathens, are in the same state. There is an example of the kind in Abyssinia, as we have heard from credible witnesses, and, among others, the present Bishop of Jerusalem, who found the Falashas, of Abyssinian Jews, chiefly proficient among the Boudas, or sorcerers. Those Boudas are reputed to have power to metamorphose their neighbours into hyænas, and other beasts, to destroy their health, or to kill them, or to drive them mad. The people when sick or in trouble believe themselves to be bewitched, or possessed, and so the superstitious are suffered to become the degraded slaves of superstition.²

So it came to pass in Palestine. Because of that sinful dread of devils which destroyed all power to exercise faith in God, men were tormented by the spirits they feared. But the Saviour, setting aside the enchanters as he put out the hired mourners from the house of Jairus, by his own divine power, not by charms or conjurations, cast out the devils, at the same time condemning the superstitions, and treating "the doctrine" which inculcated the fear and worship of devils with contempt. His disciples were invested with power to do the same, but once when they were exulting in having successfully exercised the gift, he gave them the following instructive

² Rev. Samuel Gobat's *Journal in Abyssinia*, p. 189, 229, 245.

exhortation, "He said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven. Behold, I give unto you power to tread on serpents and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy: and nothing shall by any means hurt you. Nevertheless, in this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven." (Luke x. 18-20.)

Then the world began to be delivered from the scourge. The Jewish exorcists were practising their art among the Gentiles, but it was checked by Christian influence. In Ephesus, for example, when "God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul: so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out of them. *Then* certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaped on them, and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded." (Acts xix. 11-16.) Both Jews and Greeks were associated in the same superstitious practices, and the immediate effect of this incident was, that fear fell on them all, many persons were converted to faith in Christ, many who used curious arts brought their books together and burnt them at great pecuniary loss, and we may well suppose that

the craft of exorcism, like that of making silver models of the temple of Diana, came to nought at Ephesus. Simultaneously with the spread of Christianity, demonology, and all the arts attendant, died away, the progress of heavenly truth compelling the retreat of the powers of darkness.

HUMAN SACRIFICES.

MICAH VI. 6-8.

THE prophet Micah the Morasthite, or native of Moresheth, was a Phœnician by birth, if not by descent. Jerome is no doubt correct, for he follows Eusebius, and also possesses local knowledge, when he says, in the prologue to his commentary on the book of Micah, that Morashti (for מורשת) was in his day a small village near Eleutheropolis, a city of Palestine. Micah himself calls the place Moresheth-Gath, which indicates its neighbourhood to the city of that name. Jerome, still calling it Morashti, says that there was the tomb of this prophet.¹

The Moabites wrote a dialect of the same language in the Phœnician character, as we see by the stele of Mesha at Dibon. No doubt the language and religion of the Phœnicians prevailed over a considerable tract of country, and Mesha and Micah were alike familiar with the same idolatrous customs, human sacrifice included. The king, we remember, made his first-born son a burnt offering to Chemosh his god. (2 Ki. iii. 27.) The prophet, speaking under a deep sense of the guilt of sin, and apprehension of its punishment, enquires: "Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before

¹ *Ad Eutychium. Epist. xxvii.*

him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" (Mic. vi. 6, 7.)

The idea entertained by Mesha, and adopted for the sake of illustration by Micah, was that of the substitution of one person as a victim to atone for the sin of another. The issue of a battle, in the first case, proved the futility of such an expedient; and the answer to a question, in the second, implied it. Now I have spoken above of the Accadian origin of kindred superstitions, and two cuneiform texts, translated by Mr. Sayce, evidence their prevalence in Chaldea. The first is from a diglot tablet, of which the text is Accadian and the version Assyrian. The first words are lost; then follows, ". . . the sin may he extirpate; and the offspring who raised the head among mankind, his offspring, for his life he gave; the head of the offspring for the head of the man he gave; the front of the offspring for the front of the man he gave; the breast of the offspring for the breast of the man he gave." The other is a passage from a set of astronomical tablets, "In the month Sivan, from the first day to the thirtieth day, an eclipse failed; the crops of the land (were) not prosperous. When the air-god is fine, prosperity! *on the high places the son is burnt.*"¹

Here, as the translator well observes, we have clear indications of the sacrifice of children, as it took place at Carthage, in Phœnicia, and in Palestine. I do not know from what source Mr. Sayce derives his information that "the horrible practice was of common

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Vol. IV., p. 25.

occurrence" among the Hebrews, in the same sense as it was common among the Phœnicians and Aramæans. We know that it became prevalent, never absolutely common, among the Hebrews, so far, and for so long as they followed the idolatrous customs of Canaanites and Assyrians; but the offering of human sacrifices, common with those heathens, was at the worst no more than part of the strange worship with which the Hebrews were for a time corrupted.

His suggestion, too, that "the biblical narrative of the sacrifice of Isaac" is a parallel to these instances, is equally inadmissible. Abraham, indeed, must have been familiar with the custom in Chaldea and Mesopotamia of offering such sacrifices, and before he was better taught, he might with less horror have heard the divine command to offer up Isaac as a burnt sacrifice. But the narrative in Genesis shows how the interposition of the angel to stay the hand of Abraham when about to slay Isaac, and the substitution of a ram for the expected human victim, tended to the eventual abolition of all such sacrifices. The same meliorating influence was apparent in the answer divinely given to the Phœnician prophet after his impassioned question: "He hath shewed thee, O man, *what is good*; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Mic. vi. 8.)

We have also to be careful, lest by regarding those pagan sacrifices as *vicarious*, we fancy them in some low degree to resemble the one vicarious offering which atones for the sins of all mankind. That a sinner, oppressed with guilt, should think to pacify some angry god by casting to him another living

person instead of himself: the son for the father, bodily: head for head, front for front, and breast for breast, terror and self-love quenching in his own breast the last spark of natural affection, is not to be compared with the amazing love of Christ, who freely gave himself up for us all; and the compassion of God the Father, who so loved the world that He spared not His only begotten Son, but gave Him up for us all, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life. These two things differ the one from the other as far as the glory and beauty of heaven differ from the gloom and selfishness of this poor world, where no man can by any means redeem his brother, nor give his soul a ransom for him.

THE SIN OF ASKING FOR A KING.

JUDGES VIII. 22, 23; I SAMUEL VIII. 6, 7.

“**T**HE men of Israel said unto Gideon,” after he had slain Zebah and Zalmunna, kings of Midian, “Rule thou over us, both thou and thy son, and thy son’s son also, for thou hast delivered us from the hand of Midian.” To this request for the establishment of an hereditary monarchy Gideon promptly replied, “I will not rule over you, *the LORD shall rule over you.*” (Jud. viii. 22, 23.) This was their first petition for a king. It was renewed a few years later, when they said to Samuel, “Make us a king to judge us like all the nations.” Their demand displeased the prophet, who prayed to the Lord concerning it, and received for answer, “They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, *that I should not reign over them.*” (I Sam. viii. 6, 7.)

Certainly, a desire for royal government does not in itself imply rejection of Divine government, or it could never be a religious duty to honour the king and to pray for him, as in Holy Scripture we are taught to do, but the sin of the Israelites consisted in rejecting the Divine government, administered as it then was by judges, or by priests or prophets, in order to have an earthly king. The sin was further aggravated by the circumstance that kings were

supposed to possess divine powers, or to participate in divine attributes.

How great a tyrant, and how unworthy a pretender to godlike majesty the king desired by the Israelites was likely to be, may be partly gathered from the expostulation of Samuel in reply to this request (1 Sam. viii. 10-17), and more perfectly from what has been related in preceding pages concerning the kings of Egypt, and more especially Rameses II., the chief oppressor of their fathers.

Of all neighbouring nations, Egypt was, at that time, the greatest and best known. The customs of Egypt, with the grandeur of the Pharaohs, were present in the imagination of the Hebrews, and most especially in times of national distress, when their trust in the God who delivered them out of the land of Egypt, and the house of bondage, should have been the strongest. But they were haunted with the delusion that the Egyptian kings, and perhaps all other kings, were more than men; and perhaps they fancied that a king might be found for them as much a god as Amen-Ra, a man-god visible and near at hand. By entertaining such a thought they became incapable of entire allegiance to the Lord God, their heavenly Lawgiver and King.

There is abundant evidence that the kings of Egypt and Ethiopia were counted little inferior to gods. A tablet inscription found by M. Mariette at Jebel Berkel, in the ruins of the great temple of Napata, in the ancient border-land between the two countries, makes the matter clear. It is on a monument raised in memory of the enthronement of a king named Aspalut, in the twenty-sixth dynasty, B.C. 664-525,

much later, indeed, than the time of Samuel and Saul, but representing a standard of royal dignity much lower than that assumed in the days of the judges, an exorbitant folly not peculiar to one country, nor limited to one age, but common to the Pharaohs, the Cæsars, and the Czars, and shared by many other sovereigns, ancient and modern, throughout heathendom.

Aspalut, an Ethiopian, was chosen by the priests from among themselves. The army being at their service, was gathered round the temple, while they said prayers to Amen-Ra, their chief god. Before addressing the god, they had said to the soldiers, "Let us go, and crown for ourselves a king that shall be like a young bull (for strength), whom none shall be able to resist." On this appeal, the whole multitude of armed men groaned aloud, and cried, "Our master is among us, but we know him not. O that we might know him, march under him, and serve him as the two worlds (Upper and Lower Egypt) serve Horus, son of Isis, as soon as he shall be seated on the throne of his father Osiris! O that we might adore his double plume!"¹ Then the soldiers talked together; then they raised a shout of praise to the god; then they declared that the king is his image on earth; then they renewed the lament, "Our master is with us, but we know him not. Let us lie prostrate before him. Let us say in his presence, We come to thee, O Amen! Give us our master to give us life. We do not speak to thee like them who know thee not. He is to be our guide to thee." On this a company of twenty-four delegates, representing

¹ The Sovereign of all Egypt wore two feathers in his royal cap.

the chief officers of state, went into the temple to consult the god, and to receive a king at his hand. At their entrance the clergy asked them wherefore they were come, and they replied, "We are come to the god Amen-Ra, for him to give us our master; we do not speak like those who know him not; he is our guide." Before introducing them to the god, the priests went into the sanctuary to announce the arrival of the delegates, and with sacrifices propitiate his favour. This ceremony being done, the delegates were admitted into the sanctuary, and repeated their prayer, "We come to thee, Amen-Ra; give us a master."

The god consenting, some royal brothers were presented to him, but he refused them all, and called for Aspalut, who he approved, by repeating to him almost the very words of their prayer. Then Aspalut entered the inmost chamber of the sanctuary, stood face to face with the god (or some priest who personated the god), received from the god his father the diadem and the sceptre, and came forth king.¹

The pretensions of the Pharaohs to divinity were very ancient, so that this ceremony at the election of Aspalut contains nothing new on that score, but one might almost think that the choice of king Saul had suggested the very form of priestly election employed in that case. No one can affirm that the form of election of Saul at Mizpeh suggested the ceremonial employed at Djebel Barkal for the elevation of Aspalut to the throne of Egypt; it looks not improbable. That, however, is a conjecture of extremely

¹ Sur la stèle de l'intronisation trouvée au Djebel-Barkai, par G. Maspero, *Revue Archéologique*, Mai, 1873.

slight importance; but the stèle before us, with circumstances previously noted in relation to the Pharaohs, powerfully suggests that if the appointment of a king had been left to the Hebrews, they would have followed the customs of the heathen, in which case there would have been at that early date, eleven or twelve hundred years before Christ, a total apostasy of the Hebrew nation under a king elected after the custom of the heathen.

Kings commonly pretended to be sons, or at least more distant descendants of gods; and therefore Alexander the Great thought it necessary to call himself son of Ammon,¹ no Pharaoh being regarded a mere mortal. The heathens of Palestine were no less high-minded, and in the first line of the Moabite stone, we find Mesha calling himself son of Chemosh.

¹ The same as Amen-Ra.

ASSYRIA.

THE OCCUPATION OF SAMARIA.

2 KINGS XVII. 24.

IMMEDIATELY after carrying away the Israelites to Nineveh, Tiglath-Pileser "brought men from Babylon," at that time a town of Assyria, "and from Cuthah, and from Ava (or Ivah), and from Hamath (in Upper Syria), and from Sepharvaim (two towns on the Euphrates), and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the children of Israel, and they possessed Samaria, and dwelt in the cities thereof." (2 Ki. xvii. 24.) It is not likely that these people were mingled indiscriminately in their transfer from their several towns to Samaria, but that each town migrated in mass, and that the inhabitants of the same town remained together in their new homes. Indeed the people of the place, fenced by its own walls, and governed by its king, although all were subject to a King of kings, had a sort of independent nationality.

"Every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places which the Samaritans had made, every nation in their cities wherein they dwelt. And the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima. And the

Avites made Nibhaz and Tartak, and the Sepharvites burnt their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods of Sepharvaim." (2 Ki. xvii. 29-31.)

Our information concerning the objects of worship here specified is very incomplete. What were the Succoth-benoth made by the Babylonians has only been conjectured. Ashima, Nibhaz, and Tartak may have been too insignificant for human memory, but bricks from the dust of Babylonia may haply be turned to disclose their names again. Adrammelech and Anammelech, a pair of gods for the two Sipparas, on the east and west banks of the Euphrates, might represent in the Assyrian superstition the male and female powers of the sun. Even the geography of the passage just quoted is in part forgotten, for the site of Ava or Ivah has to be recovered. Until very lately Cuth was more than doubtful, but since the expedition of Dr. Oppert to Mesopotamia all doubt has been removed, and he places Cutha on the map.

Learning from R. Benjamin of Tudela that Babel, the royal city, and Hillah, the later town, are five miles apart; and comparing the distance from Babel to Cutha as it is laid down by the French commission, we may conclude that as Nebuchadnezzar saw it from the roof of his castle, it lay nearly due east at about twelve miles distance. Its ruins are buried in the mounds now called by the Arabs *Al Hymar*, or *Oheymir*. The mound *El Karneh* (the Treasure) is a heap of bricks from the collapse of ancient buildings. Some of them have inscriptions, and near at hand there is a pavement of Nebuchadnezzar. The inscriptions tell that the inhabitants worshipped

Nergal, the lion-god of the Assyrians, and in one of those mounds at Cutha there are the ruins of his temple.¹

Temples were no doubt built by the Cuthites and others to their gods in the cities of Samaria, and when one of the Israelitish priests was sent back by the king to teach those heathens how to worship "the god of the land," "he came and dwelt at Beth-el, and taught them how they should fear the LORD." (2 Ki. xvii. 28.) At this time, therefore, we may conclude that the Lord was acknowledged God of the land, and that in each of the Assyrian towns the new inhabitants had an idol of their own, the god in its own place. At Beth-el there ought to have been a house for the service of the Lord, but that is doubtful. Afterwards, by leave of Alexander the Great, there was a temple on Mount Gerizim, and now, at the foot of Gerizim, at the ancient Shechem, afterwards Neapolis, now pronounced *Nablús*, a synagogue.

The recent discovery of Cutha, with its temple to Nergal, enables us to read the Scriptural narrative with a broader apprehension of its verity, and a more vivid perception of its facts.

¹ Menant, *Babylone et la Chaldée*, p. 190, 261.

ASSYRIA.

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.

2 KINGS XVII. 24-28.

THE Book of the Law¹ of Moses, separate from the other portions of the Old Testament, in a distinctively Samaritan text, and in possession of a people bearing a name distinct from Hebrew or Jew; spoken of by the Jews as a sect with whom they have no dealings, and who, while they retained their position in Samaria, a country once inhabited by Israelites, were expressly distinguished from the "lost sheep of the house of Israel," becomes in effect an historic Gentile monument. It is a monument of the period which began with the schism of Jeroboam, and terminated with the last deportation of Israelites from Samaria to Assyria, B.C. 975-721.

After the schism, the tribes of Judah and Benjamin remained in Judea, and worshipped the Lord in his temple at Jerusalem. The northern tribes who then occupied Samaria had a new religion of their own, or, to speak more correctly, the greater part of the population fell into gross idolatry: some retained a belief in the true God, but were for the most part debarred

¹ *Book of the Law*, ספר תורה, is conventionally the title of the Pentateuch.

Handwritten text in Samaritan script, consisting of approximately 15 lines of text. The script is dense and characteristic of the Samaritan alphabet.

Gen. i. 6-8. Samaritan MS., Cottonian, Claudius B. VIII.

from worshipping him at Jerusalem, and had no means for the observance of the Mosaic law in Samaria. The population, after being much wasted in war with their neighbours, was carried away captive into Assyria, with the exception of a few whom the conqueror thought not worth the trouble of conveyance. A mongrel heathen population was then brought in to take their place; and for want of a truer name the strangers were called Samaritans. Fearing the anger of the God of the land, they besought the king of Assyria to send over some one to teach them His ways. The king, having many Hebrew priests among the captives, sent one of them to teach the new inhabitants how they ought to serve the LORD. (2 Ki. xvii. 24-28.)

This priest brought over the book of the law with him, which was as much of the Bible as the Israelites of the ten tribes had at the time of their secession; and we do not know that the few prophecies as yet delivered were at that time collected as books having the authority which we call canonical. As the Samaritans never became proselytes, and had thenceforth no dealings with the Israelites in regard to sacred things, they would not receive any of the Scriptures that were afterwards written. But the five books of Moses were still retained; they are preserved with religious care by their descendants now remaining on the site of the ancient city, and wherever you find a copy of the same, it is known as "The Samaritan Pentateuch."

Representing, with a few obvious exceptions, the work of Moses, the volume lay out of sight of Europeans until early in the seventeenth century, when a

French priest brought home a copy to Paris, where it was published in the year 1631. In the synagogue of the Samaritans at Nablús (*Neapolis*), the Shechem of Genesis, the Sychem or Sychar of the New Testament, there is a very old copy, which they say is the book originally given to their ancestors. This is hardly credible, but all who have seen the manuscript say that it is of great age, and it is probably the archetype of the few other copies that exist. All the manuscripts that we know are written in the same character, and in the same style of primitive simplicity. There are no vowels, nor is there any interpunctuation beyond a single point (.) after each word, except when the word finishes close on the left-hand margin. After allowing for inevitable variations in the writing, each one of the copies is probably as good as any other; and when closely literal collation is made, the variants are found to be of extremely slight importance, except as will be presently explained. Even if these manuscripts are not very ancient, it will hardly be disputed that they are copied from an ancient source.

An exact fac-simile of the second section of the book of Genesis (Gen. i. 6-8), as divided by the Samaritans, obtained by tracing from the manuscript presented by Archbishop Usher to the Cottonian Library,¹ written in the year of our Lord 1362, is before the reader.

The document, thus perpetuated for 2,600 years, or not much less, if any, contains direct confirmation of statements made in the second book of Kings and

¹ British Museum: Cottonian MSS., *Claudius*, B. VIII.

elsewhere, concerning the schism of the Israelites in the time of Rehoboam king of Judah. Being copied from a writing older than the establishment of synagogues, this manuscript is not divided into the *Parashioth*, or Sabbath Lessons, which became necessary when Moses was read every Sabbath-day.¹ But more valuable to the student than even the archaic simplicity of the page are the plain traces of sectarian hostility, characteristic of the people and the time. Such, especially, is the reading in Deuteronomy (Deut. xxvii. 4), where the word *Gerizim* was substituted for *Ebal*, in order to produce a belief that God had commanded an altar to be erected on Gerizim, the mount of blessings, where the Samaritans offered their sacrifices, and subsequently built their temple, as if to rival the worshippers in the temple at Jerusalem. On that spot their descendants continue to sacrifice a lamb every Passover, and thus perpetuate the memory of a schism which, first in the history of the world, divided the Church of God.

The title of the Samaritan Pentateuch to be counted among ancient monuments of the authenticity of sacred history is clear enough when we consider that, with the exceptions now mentioned, it answers to the original text of the law, word for word, and that these exceptions are confirmatory of what we read in our own Hebrew Bible of the schism and constant enmity of the Samaritans. Both the Samaritan and the Judæan manuscripts have various

¹ The Samaritans now possess and read in private the Books of Joshua and Judges. The Prophets they may read, but do not hold them to be of divine authority.

readings, and a few of the Samaritan, but very few, are not found in the Judæan. These few, however, they who have collated them pronounce to be generally of little value, and differing no more than is inevitable on whichsoever side of any controversy the variant may be quoted.¹

Between the 17th and 18th verses of the 20th chapter of the book of Exodus, interrupting the sublime narrative of the giving of the law, the following sentences are boldly interpolated: "And it shall be when the Lord thy God shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanite, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up for thyself great stones, and thou shalt plaster them with lime. And thou shalt write upon the stones all the words of this law. And it shall be when ye pass over Jordan, ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day, on Mount Gerizim. And thou shalt build there an altar to the Lord thy God, an altar of stones; thou shalt not lift up iron upon it. With plain stones shalt thou build the altar of the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer up upon it sacrifices to the Lord thy God. And thou shalt sacrifice peace-offerings, and thou shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. That mountain beyond Jordan, after the way from the rising of the sun in the land of the Canaanite, who dwelleth in the West, over against Gilgal, near by the oak of Moreh, over against Shechem." This forgery tallies with the words of the Samaritan woman: "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain; and ye say that

¹ Any student who wishes to examine the Samaritan Pentateuch would probably turn to Blayney's *Pentateuchus Hebræo-Samaritanus Characterè Chaldaico editus*, Oxon., 1790.

in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship" (Jno. iv. 20); and the book of the law, in this and other places so daringly corrupted, brings literal confirmation to the entire history of the Samaritans, as related in the Kings, referred to in the Gospel according to St. John, and repeated by Josephus and other historians.

NAAMAN IN THE HOUSE OF RIMMON.



2 KINGS IV. 17, 18.

HOW came it to pass, that when Naaman the Syrian professed to Elisha the prophet his determination not to offer burnt-offering or sacrifice to any other god, but only to the LORD, he desired pardon of the LORD that when his master, the king of Syria, should go into the house of Rimmon, to worship there, leaning on his hand, he, Naaman, should bow himself in the house of Rimmon? The case may be stated thus: The king of Syria, an avowed worshipper of this god, falls down before its image, and one of his chief servants, being an avowed worshipper of the God of Israel, bows down at the same time. The question is: Will this prostration be regarded as his own voluntary act, in breach of his declared intention? and supposing that it be so regarded, may he be forgiven?

Until the case be fully understood the question cannot be fairly entertained; and one could scarcely venture even to conjecture a reply, which, if mistaken, might mislead and trouble the inquirer.

When Selden counted Rimmon among the Syrian or Assyrian gods, he said that the only known mention of him was in the passage now quoted. But the

name occurs frequently in the Assyrian inscriptions, and the difficulty of understanding this incident is therefore considerably lessened. An obelisk found in the south-east palace of Nimrud, the ancient Calah, and now in the British Museum, bears mention of him. The inscription relates the doings of Shamas-Rimmon, son and successor of Shalmaneser II., also conjectured to be the same as Shamas-Vul, or Shamsi-Vul. This king is named after two gods: Shamas, the sun, and Rimmon. Mr. Smith placed his accession at B.C. 825, and that of his successor at 810.¹

At the time of Naaman's visit to Elisha, B.C. 894 or thereabouts, Vul-Cush, now known as Vul-Nirari, was king of Assyria; he had made himself formidable west of the Euphrates, and during his reign laid Samaria under tribute. Damascus and all Syria had been kept in terror by hostile incursions of the kings of Nineveh, nearly three centuries before this visit. Tiglath Pileser I. had attempted the conquest of Damascus, which was actually accomplished soon afterwards by Shalmaneser II. At this time the city is under tribute, and the Assyrians, almost everywhere triumphant, are only prevented from annihilating this remnant of Syrian royalty by the payment of heavy gifts, which serve at once to purchase temporary respite, and to invite Vul-Nirari to make a sweeping sequestration at his earliest opportunity. One condition of forbearance in this, as in all such cases, we may venture to affirm, was to acknowledge the gods of the conqueror; and it is almost certain that while Ben-Hadad, or any other Syrian, held his throne at Damascus, Rimmon, reputed god of tempests in

¹ *Assyrian Eponym Canon*, p. 60. S. Bagster and Sons.

Assyria, would have a temple there; and the vassal king, himself a heathen, would be under the political necessity of worshipping therein, if indeed he had not already received Rimmon-worship among the customs of his fathers. To cease from the worship or to withhold the tribute would be regarded as a declaration of revolt, and visited with instant and inexorable vengeance. Probably the king of Syria who had sent his afflicted servant to Samaria to seek relief, and had obtained it from a prophet of the LORD, would have been considered guilty of disloyalty to the Assyrian god if he had exempted Naaman from his attendance in the temple, while he had not shared in Naaman's conversion. Just one passage from the inscription of Shamas-Rimmon, which must have been written but a few years later, describing a triumphant expedition of his forces from Nineveh to the Mediterranean Sea, leaving Damascus unvisited for that time, will help to show how terrible the name of an angry Assyrian must have been in those days, both in Syria and Palestine.

“The kings of the country of Nahri (Mesopotamia), all of them, by the will of Asshur, Shamas, and Rimmon, the gods my defenders, a fixed tribute of horses trained to the yoke for the future over them I appointed. At that time from the country of Tsilar, and the land of Edanni, as far as the sea of the setting sun (the Mediterranean, perhaps about Tyre and Sidon), like Rimmon (with the fury of a tempest from the north), my storm over them I poured. Exceeding fear into them I infused.”¹

Weighing the sacred obligations of loyalty to his

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 19, first edition.

king, duty to his country, and worship to his god, who is the LORD, the God of Elisha, and no doubt considering this last to be greatest, he was perplexed. Healed of his leprosy, he has incurred a new duty, and wishes to know whether he can still be free to perform the others also, and how far. He therefore puts the question to the prophet, and Elisha does not forbid him to bow down when his royal master leans on his hand in the house of Rimmon, but rather encourages him to do so. *He bids him go in peace.*

May we not consider his position to be fairly represented thus? It was certainly the duty of the king to pay the tribute and the homage, or not to withhold it without sufficient reason. Jeremiah, we remember, maintained this principle of justice in Jerusalem against those who would have withheld the tribute from Babylon. The king of Syria could not, as a heathen, have objected to pay tribute to the Assyrian. Naaman, for his part, openly declared himself a worshipper of the one true God, and of Him only, rejecting every other. He solemnly bound himself, taking home with him to Damascus two mules' burden of earth, and had for witnesses a numerous retinue of his countrymen, with whom he returned healed and converted. He appeared thus in Damascus, a denier of the god worshipped in his own country, and he resolved to sustain this character, whether standing at his master's side in the palace or bowing down with him in the temple. He went to Samaria a leper, he comes back in health; but he renounces his gods, gives praise to the LORD, the God of Israel, and lets Asshur, Shamas, and Rimmon, with the pollution of his leprosy, all go together. He builds an altar, whereon to offer

a separate sacrifice ; and when he appears in the house of Rimmon, and as the king's chief attendant bows down there, his hand presents no gift, and the bare prostration, made for a reason quite foreign to the place, is rather a silent protest against the god than a recognition of him. It has more of contempt than reverence. He does *not* worship Rimmon, but his presence in the heathen crowd with no spot of leprosy, a thankful and honest dissentient from all idolatry, is in truth the best thing that could be in that place and at that time. The votaries of Ben-hadad's triad were singing hymns, no doubt, but Naaman is now silent, and the silence is as a protest against the praise. It as good as tells them that he has often sung those hymns in vain ; he has had recourse to gods and spirits, he has tried the virtue of incantations and drugs, and charms, but they have all failed. He comes without a victim or a gift to say that he owes nothing here. He has established another altar, and if that establishment is as complete as is his gratitude and his faith, he has some servant of the God he has chosen to help him to do fit worship, and the God of Jacob is as well acknowledged there as ever he was at Bethel, or Hebron, or Shiloh, or even by the Jews at Jerusalem. Every day he does fall prostrate, but not before any image ; and the contrast between the official bending down and the reverent worship, the sacrifice, the psalm, the godly life and glad confession, is wonderful. Then let not the example of Naaman in the house of Rimmon be quoted in justification of any cowardly attempt to hide the lamp under the bushel, yielding countenance to idolatry of any sort, either at home or abroad.

MERODACH-BALADAN AND HEZEKIAH.

2 KINGS XX. ; ISAIAH XXXIX.

MERODACH (or Berodach) Baladan appears just once on the page of Sacred History. He heard that Hezekiah had been sick, and recovered, and he sent him a present, with congratulation. He is called king of Babylon, but was an utter stranger to Hezekiah, who seems to have known little or nothing of him, or of Babylon; for when Isaiah asked him whence the men came, he could only tell him that they came from Babylon, and of Babylon he could only say that it was a far country; so that now, for the first time, we gain intelligence of communication between Hebrews and Babylonians. And why a king of Babylon should make an overture of amicable relation to a king of Jerusalem is not explained. We only hear that the frank reception given by Hezekiah to the stranger was unwise, and a remonstrance of Isaiah portended the coming Babylonian captivity.

But Assyrian annals help to dispel the obscurity which has hitherto covered this brief episode in Hebrew history. Assyria hated and conquered Merodach-Baladan, who appears there also suddenly, and soon passes out of sight. But the kings of Assyria

were the great enemies of the king of Babylon and the kings of Israel and Judah; and however unwise it might be in the king of Judah to accept alliance with the Babylonian, nothing can be clearer than that they were all ready to ally against the common enemy, an enemy so powerful that a much stronger alliance was requisite for any hope of successful resistance.

Merodach-Baladan was not first of the name, for another, called Merodach-Baladan I., was king of Babylon in the year 1320 before Christ,¹ made grants of land, enjoyed all the honours of royalty, and at least had a grandfather among his predecessors. But an historical tablet of Tiglath Pileser II., the powerful king, king of nations, king of Assyria, has among the titles of that sovereign "High Priest of Babylon," showing that he regards Babylonia as a subject state. He claims possession of the whole of Karduniyas (Babylonia) to its utmost extent, and he carries on sanguinary expeditions throughout the regions of Chaldæa and Elam and the bordering countries. After a time he says, "Maruduk-baliddina (M. Baladan) son of Yakin, king of the sea-coast, from which to the kings my fathers, formerly none came and kissed their feet; terrible fear of Assur my lord overwhelmed him, and to Sapiya he came, and kissed my feet; gold, the dust of his country, in abundance, cups of gold, instruments of gold, precious stones, the product of the sea, planks of wood . . . carried by sailors(?), costly garments, gum, oxen, and sheep, his tribute, I received." Many cities, "which the Babylonians call strong," he subdues, and

¹ Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 238, 239.

sets up his image over them.¹ This Tiglath Pileser reigned from B.C. 745 to 727.

But Merodach-Baladan could not be held in vassalage, and the inscription of Sennacherib, from B.C. 705 to 681, again contains his name, and acknowledges him, notwithstanding the boast of Tiglath Pileser II. as king of Babylonia: "In my first expedition, of Merodach Baladan, king of Karduniyas, with the army of Elam his helpers, in the vicinity of Kisu, I accomplished his overthrow. In the midst of that battle he abandoned his camp, alone he fled, his life he saved. Chariots, horses, carriages, and mules, which in the midst of the fight he had abandoned, my hand captured. Into his palace, which is in Babylon, joyfully I entered, and I opened also his treasure house; gold, silver, precious stones, everything," etc., etc., "as spoil I counted."² On the same cylinder is recorded the attack on Hezekiah, whose sickness at this time took place, and the final flight of Merodach Baladan, who had sent messengers to Hezekiah, whether as to a fellow sufferer, or a coveted ally, it is not possible to determine. All that Isaiah said to the king, all that is recorded in the duplicate narration from Scripture quoted above, and all that the Assyrian annals contain, are in perfect harmony. Nothing could be more natural than the amicable communication of two sufferers under the same ruthless conqueror. I have noticed elsewhere the exact relation between Hezekiah and the Assyrians, and the *offence* which brought down their force upon him at this time. (2 Ki. xviii. 14.)

¹ Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, p. 254, seq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295, seq.

PHARAOH NECHO AND JOSIAH.

2 CHRONICLES XXXV.

“**A**FTER all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates, and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war; for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless, Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away, for I am wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers. And all Judah and Jerusalem mourned for Josiah.” (2 Chr. xxxv. 20-24.)

It would not seem to fall within the scope of the sacred historian to say why Pharaoh Necho “came up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates,” nor to explain why “Josiah went out against him.” But it

is not so with the annals of Assurbanipal, king of Assyria, to whom Carchemish belonged, and speaking strategically, it was the key to his dominions beyond the Euphrates. Herodotus and Josephus have noted the event, but neither the one nor the other adds anything material to the narrative before us; from the annals, however, in the king's own library, we have the following information.

Esarhaddon, father of Assurbanipal, had overthrown Tirhakah, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, taken possession of his country, and appointed "kings and governors in the midst of Egypt (*kings* here being equivalent to *viceroys*). But Tirhakah, not actually dispossessed of Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, trusted in his own might, and instead of paying tribute, made war upon his conqueror, killed and plundered as he passed through the intermediate provinces until he came to Memphis, the city which Esarhaddon had taken, and added with its dependencies to the boundaries of Assyria. In that metropolis "he sat" enthroned again. The report of this event reached Assurbanipal as he was "going in state in the midst of Nineveh," and with heart bitter and afflicted he gathered powerful forces, and directed his march towards Egypt and Ethiopia. Twenty-two tributary kings, through whose countries he passed, came and kissed his feet. Tirhakah, "in the midst of Memphis," heard of the progress of his expedition, and "to make war, fighting and battle," gathered his army, and sent it out against him. "In the service of Assur, Ishtar, and the great gods my lords," says the royal annalist, "on the wide battle-field I accomplished the overthrow of his army. Tirhakah in the

midst of Memphis, heard of the defeat of his army ; the terror of Assur and Ishtar overcame him, and he went forward. Fear of my kingdom overwhelmed him, and his gods glorified me before my camp. Memphis he abandoned, and to save his life he fled into Thebes. That city (Memphis) I took, my army I caused to enter, and rest in the midst of it. Necho, king of Memphis and Sais, Sarludari, king of Pelusium, Pisan-hor, king of Natho," and seventeen others. "These kings, prefects and governors, whom in the midst of Egypt, the father my begetter had appointed ; who, before the advance of Tirhakah, their appointments had left, and fled to the desert, I restored ; and the places of their appointments, in their possessions, I appointed them. Egypt and Ethiopia, which the father my begetter had captured, again I took: the bonds more than in former days I strengthened, and I made covenants. With abundant plunder and much spoil, in peace I returned to Nineveh. Afterwards all those kings whom I had appointed sinned against me. They did not keep the oath of the great gods; the good I did to them they despised, and their hearts devised evil ; seditious words they spoke, and evil counsel they counselled among themselves." ¹

The evil counsel was that they should enter into an alliance by treaty with Tirhakah, offensive and defensive, against Assyria. The Assyrian generals in Egypt detected the plot, intercepted the correspondence, took the kings that were implicated in it, "in bonds of iron and fetters of iron bound their hands and feet." The people of Sais, Mendes, and Zoan were on the point of rising in revolt, and of these

¹ Column I., lines 83-124; II., 1-4, transcribed.

“small and great with the sword they caused to be destroyed. One they did not leave in the midst.” They dismantled the disaffected cities, and then, to borrow again the words of the annals, “These kings who had devised evil against the army of Assyria, alive to Nineveh into my presence they brought. To Necho of them, favour I granted him, and a covenant Observances stronger than before I caused to be restored, and with him I sent. Costly garments I placed upon him, ornaments of gold ; his royal image I made for him, bracelets of gold I fastened on his limbs, a steel sword its sheath of gold, in the glory of my name more than I write I gave him. Chariots, horses, and mules for his royal riding I appointed him ; my generals, as governors, to assist him with him I sent. The place where the father my begetter, in Sais to the kingdom had appointed him, to his district I restored him ; and Neboshazban his son in Athribes I appointed. Benefits and favours beyond those of the father my begetter, I caused to restore, and gave to him.”¹

Necho, at first made king of Memphis by Esarhad-don, who remained so faithful that he was restored by Assurbanipal on his first expedition to Egypt, but was afterward involved in the guilt of a conspiracy against his sovereign whom he represented in the government of Memphis and Sais,—this same Necho, although carried to Nineveh in irons as a traitor, on some account found favour enough to be pardoned, set at liberty, and actually raised to the dignity of a Pharaoh, or king of Egypt. Yet now he makes use of that very dignity to employ the strength

¹ Column II., 31-49, transcribed.

of Egypt for the humiliation of Assyria. All Egypt and Ethiopia wage war against their conqueror, and Pharaoh Necho, who owes all his worldly fortune to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, leads the Egyptian army through Palestine, hoping to reach Nineveh by way of Carchemish, and overthrow the empire.

Josiah, himself a tributary to Nineveh, and bound by what would then be called a covenant to uphold the empire, would not break faith, whatever Necho might say about having the command of God, whether he might wish him to understand by אלהים the God of Israel or the gods of Egypt. He was neither presumptuous nor self-righteous, as some commentators have guessed he might have been, but faithful to an obligation for which he ventured and lost his life. The archers shot him. He died, and was buried honourably in the sepulchres of his fathers. All Judah and Jerusalem mourned for him. Jeremiah lamented for him. All the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentations, and made them an ordinance in Israel, "written in the lamentations." His acts, and his goodness; his deeds, first and last, are written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah. (2 Chr. xxxv. 23-27.)

BABYLON.

THE FALL OF BABYLON.

DANIEL V. 25-31.

THE fall of Babylon, with the death of Belshazzar and the transfer of the kingdom to the Medes and Persians, is related with extreme brevity in the book of Daniel (Dan. v.), at the close of a circumstantial narrative of an idolatrous and drunken banquet, where the young king drank wine before a thousand of his lords, with his princes, his wives, and his concubines; and while he tasted the wine, sent for the golden vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple at Jerusalem; and they all drank in them. Belshazzar was a very young king, and from the little that is known of him we may infer that he was a dissolute and reckless youth. When he came to the throne, some months or perhaps a year before this fatal night, the Medes and Persians were laying siege to Babylon.

The capture of the city is noticed very briefly by Herodotus, and described at length by Xenophon. Neither of them could have copied from the Bible, where the manner of the capture is not described, but only predicted with the usual obscurity of prophetic writing, the prediction gaining clearness only in the event of its fulfilment.

Herodotus, repeating what he has heard in Babylon, speaks of Cyrus as the General commanding the Medo-Persian army, and observes that "if the Babylonians had suspected or discovered what Cyrus was doing, instead of letting the Persians get into the city, they might have destroyed them utterly. For having shut all the gates that command the river, they would have gone out on the footways that were on both sides of the stream, and caught them as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians came upon them by surprise, and owing to the great extent of Babylon (as they say who live there), they who were taken in one extremity of the city, knew nothing of the capture of others in the centre, but (for this happened during a feast) went on dancing and revelling all the while, until they learnt it all too certainly."¹

Xenophon, having access to original records, exhibits the incidents of that memorable event with more perfect knowledge, and relates them so graphically that a mere summary of his narrative would be inadequate to convey any just impression of its value. It shall therefore be given in free translation, condensed but slightly.

Daniel had said: "In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain. And Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old." (Dan. v. 30, 31.) The wisdom of Daniel was displayed on this occasion, by his interpretation of the writing on the wall. In early life he had made extraordinary proficiency in the learning and tongue of the *Chasdim*, not the Arameans of Babylon, but such Chaldees, or Chasdim, as were at Ur in the time

¹ Herodot., *Hist.*, I., 191.

of Abraham. Belshazzar and his court could understand what was written or spoken in Aramean,¹ and perhaps also in the language of the *Chasdim*, the cuneiform that we see stamped on bricks but written so variously, often in ideograph, as not to be read by syllables, but by signs, requiring a key for their explanation. The words, or signs, as read by Daniel, were *Menè, Menè, Tékel, Upharsin*, "Number, Number, Weight, and Divisions,"² and explained by him to mean that God had *numbered, weighed, and divided* the Babylonian kingdom, and given it to the Medes and Persians; Darius being king of the Medes, and Cyrus, a Persian general over the united besieging army. Isaiah (xiii.) and Jeremiah (l. 41) had foretold the event now impending, and its consequences, at great length; but three long chapters are too much to be transcribed, and should be perused attentively before reading the following account by Xenophon, who served in the army of the younger Cyrus, had access to the Persian archives at Ecbátana, and drew thence a description which has the value of an authentic historical document,³ bearing every mark of truthfulness.

As soon as Cyrus (1) came before Babylon, he distributed his forces all round the city, to cover a circle of more than forty-eight miles, the mere circuit of the walls, and then drove round the line of encampments with some of his captains, and other friends of the allies. Having surveyed the walls, he was preparing to march away, when a deserter came, and advised

¹ ארמית.² מנא מנא תקל ופרסין.³ *Xenophontis Opera edidit Gustavus Sauppe*, Vol. I., *Cyropædia*, Lipsiæ, 1865, Lib. vii., cap. 5.

him to remove the army ; “because,” said he, “when surveyed from the walls, the line seems very weak, nor can it possibly be otherwise ; for when made to cover so great a length of wall, it is impossible for it to be very deep.” On this hint Cyrus put his troops through various movements, with the view of ascertaining the effect produced on the men when the columns were weakened by extension, or strengthened by giving them solidity ; and, after careful observation, brought them all into camp together, assembled his officers, and addressed them thus :

“Fellow-soldiers : we have surveyed this city on all sides, and I confess myself unable to see how any one is to take these strong and lofty walls by assault. But, on the other hand, the greater number of men there be within, so long as they will not come out to give us battle, by so much the sooner will the place be reduced by famine, and unless you have any better method to propose, our men must sit down and lay siege” (2). On this, Chrysantas, a Persian general, observed that there was a river which flowed through Babylon, having a width of not less than two stadia, as if to hint that possibly an entrance might be effected that way. “Yes, indeed !” remarked Gobryas, a noble Assyrian, “and the depth ? If two men could stand in it, one on the other’s head ; the topmost would be under water, so that the city seems to be made stronger by the river than by the walls.” “Then,” said Cyrus, “let us see, Chrysantas, if all this is more than we can overcome. We shall have, as quickly as possible, to measure out for ourselves how much is to be each man’s work, and then dig out a ditch on both sides the wall (*departing from the river east and west*)

as broad and as deep as we can make it, working hard at it, night and day.”

Forthwith, measuring in a wide sweep around the walls, he marked distances for mountain-like masses of earth to be piled up, beginning at the bank of the river. Beyond these was dug an exceeding deep ditch, sending up the earth right and left, the men so forming the embankment towards the walls as to work under cover. First of all, he raised towers at the edge of the river to the height of 240 feet at least, on footings made strong by palm-trees; and some even loftier than that. And this he did, both with the design of seeming to prepare for a grand attack upon the walls, as is usual in besieging cities, and also that, when the river should escape into the ditch, the rush of water might not carry away the towers. He also raised other towers on the embankment for more complete protection. The besieged meanwhile derided the besiegers for taking all this trouble, while they had within their walls the means of keeping up a supply of provisions for twenty years. When Cyrus heard this, he divided his army into twelve parts, that one part might be on guard each month in the year; but the Babylonians again, when they heard this, laughed yet the more, thinking how much better protected they were, having Phrygians, Lydians, Arabs and Cappadocians for their guards, all of whom they considered far more trusty fellows than the Persians.

In due time the ditches were completely excavated (3). Cyrus, too, heard that there was to be a feast in Babylon, when all the Babylonians would be drinking and making merry the whole night through, according to custom. On that night, therefore, as soon as it fell

dark, he took many men, and opened the ditches to the river. This done, the river emptied itself into them as the night advanced; and in the channel of the river through the city, the water sank so low that men could ford it. While thus the river ebbed away, Cyrus gave orders to the Persian Chiliarchs; to two commanders, one of horse and one of foot, he gave each his thousand, and ordered the remainder of the army to follow in the rear, and come up as they should be appointed. They all made ready. Cyrus himself, riding down into the dry river-bed, sent forward the scouts, both horse and foot, with orders to examine the ground, and report whether it was passable. They at once reported that it was so; and Cyrus, calling up the chiefs of both horse and foot, thus addressed them:

“Friends, the river offers an entrance into the city. We go in boldly, fearing nothing. We know what they are against whom we go. We know who are fighting with us. If they were all awake and watching, full armed and in good order, we should conquer them; but now we come upon them at a time when many of them are asleep, many drunken, and all in disorder. And when they find that we are actually inside, how much more than ever will they now be helpless with terror.”

Having added a few directions for throwing brands upon the house-tops, or setting the gates on fire, he cried:

“But take your arms! I will go before you. You Gadatas, and you Gobryas! Show me the way, for you know it; and when we get in, make for the king as quickly as possible.” “Yes, indeed,” said his com-

panion to Gobryas, "that will be nothing wonderful if the palace-gates are open, as is likely; for in this night the city will be all drunk. The guards at the gate we will kill, for the guard is always there." "Of course," cried Cyrus, "but go on, go on! that we may take them by surprise."

As the words were on their lips, in they went. Some were struck dead as they lay; some fled within; some shrieked for help. The Persians that were near Gobryas joined in the clamour, as if they, too, were drunken; and making their way among the crowd, got into the palace. Some of the party of Gobryas and Gادات found the palace-gates shut. Others, having orders to look after the guards, fell upon them as they were drinking in a place gay with blazing lights, and dealt with them as enemies at once. Then, as the shrieks and confusion on the outside grew louder, they within heard the noise, and the king commanded some to go and see what was the matter. These, rushing out, flung open the gates. Gادات and his company, now having the gates wide open before them, threw themselves into the palace, and as the Babylonians were trying to escape, cut them down right and left, until they reached the king, whom they found standing erect, and grasping his sword, but petrified with fear. Gادات, Gobryas, and their men, seized him. He, and all they who stood by him, were cut down instantly; one striving in vain to escape, another snatching at a weapon, another vainly struggling to defend himself. While this was going on, Cyrus despatched parties of horse through the ways of Babylon, with orders to kill all whom they found out of doors, but to proclaim aloud, in the Syrian

language, to all that were in their houses, that they should stay there, and that whosoever durst come out should suffer death.

On this, note :—

1. *As soon as Cyrus.* A singular instance of nominal prediction. “Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden. (Is. xlv. 1.)

2. . . . *sit down and lay siege.* Xenophon makes the operations of the siege the one subject of this part of his narrative. Jeremiah (l. 14, 15, 29.) “Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about : all ye that bend the bow, shoot at her, spare no arrows, for she hath sinned against the Lord. Shout against her round about . . . call together the archers against Babylon, all ye that bend the bow, camp against it round about.”

3. . . . *ditches were completely excavated, etc.* Jeremiah foretells the suddenness of the catastrophe : “Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed.” (Jer. li. 8.) There were *two* kings with the besiegers, Darius and Cyrus, so says the Prophet, “The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the *kings* of the Medes.” (Jer. li. 11.) But the device was executed by Cyrus, so the text: “for his device is against Babylon, to destroy it.” (Jer. li. 11.) “The Lord hath both devised and done that which he spake against the inhabitants of Babylon.” (Jer. li. 12.) The sudden *surprise* and slaughter were foretold. “I have laid a snare for thee, and thou art also taken, O Babylon, and thou wast not aware : thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord.” (Jer. l. 24.) The drying up of the Euphrates : “A drought is upon her

waters ; and they shall be dried up." (Jer. l. 38.) The breaking into the city by the river-gates : "I will loose the loins of kings, to open before him (Cyrus) the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut. I will go before thee, and make the crooked places straight. I will break in pieces the gates of brass, and cut in sunder the bars of iron." (Is. xlv. 1, 2.) The *Slaughter* : "A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord, and upon the inhabitants of Babylon, and upon her princes, and upon her wise men. A sword is upon the liars, and they shall dote ; a sword is upon her mighty men, and they shall be dismayed. A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots, and upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her, and they shall become as women ; a sword is upon their treasures, and they shall be robbed." (Jer. l. 35-37.) *The sudden terror of the king Belshazzar*. "The king of Babylon hath heard the report of them, and his hands waxed feeble ; anguish took hold of him, and pangs as of a woman in travail." (Jer. l. 43.) "One post shall run to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that the city is taken at one end, and that the passages are stopped." (Jer. li. 31, 32.) The actual killing of the king, as related by Daniel, was remembered in Babylon, and archived in Ecbátana.

It remains further to be observed :—

1. That Babylon was taken by Cyrus the Great, in the year 538 before Christ, and the capture was immediately recorded by Daniel, historian and prophet.

2. That Herodotus visited Babylon about a century later, where he heard a distinct account of the event, and wrote his history about B.C. 430, when men were

living whose fathers would have related to them what they themselves had witnessed.

3. That Xenophon, an eloquent and famous Greek, who entered the service of a successor of Cyrus the Conqueror, and resided at Ecbátana, wrote his biography of that prince from the archives of the Medo-Persian empire, preserved there; and however opinions may vary as to the degree of artistic license in which Xenophon may sometimes have indulged, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt as to the substantial truth of every lineament in his picture¹ of the capture of the Golden City.

Such an agreement of histories is very satisfactory, but this is more than satisfactory—*wonderful* is “the burden of Babylon, which Isaiah, the son of Amoz, did see,” a hundred and seventy five years before that memorable night. He saw in vision the banner lifted up, and the waving of the captain’s hand. He heard the voice that bade the mighty ones go into the gates of the nobles. He heard the howling of the affrighted multitudes, beheld the drooping of the hands, and saw the melting of the hearts when every one that was found should be thrust through, and every one that was joined with them should fall by the sword. He plainly declared that the Lord would *stir up the Medes against them*. Jeremiah too, nearly sixty years before

¹ Let the succession of dates be shown to the eye of the reader.

B.C. 712 Isaiah (xiii.) saw the burden of Babylon.

B.C. 595 Jeremiah predicted the overthrow of Babylon, and wrote in a book all the evil that should come upon it. (Jer. l., li.)

B.C. 538 the Medes and Persians annihilated the Babylonian monarchy, and Daniel recorded the event.

B.C. 430 Herodotus gathered an account of it in the fallen city.

B.C. 350 or thereabouts, Xenophon wrote his narrative of the Medo-Persian conquest, as he found it recorded in the Persian archives.

that conquest, anticipated history in language so express that not a word needs be altered to bring him into exact agreement with Daniel, Herodotus, and Xenophon, who wrote after the event ; the first as actual witness of things in which he had taken part, and of the others, the first repeats common report, and the second gives the substance of authentic records which he had carefully studied.

CYRUS.

THE NAME OF CYRUS.

ISAIAH XLV. 28.

NOT long after the fall of Babylon by the sword of Cyrus the Great, came the restoration by a decree of the same, as predicted by the prophet Isaiah, who wrote as follows: "The Lord . . . saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid." (Is. xlv. 28.) So the prophet names a person about eighty years, as we may say, before his birth; and assigns to this person a work for which, at the time of the prediction, no necessity could be anticipated, for the city and the temple were standing, and although the future destruction of both was very probable, and the eventual restoration of both might be hoped for, the naming a restorer is one of the most remarkable instances on record of prophetic foresight.

"In the first year of Cyrus, king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled," for Jeremiah (Jer. xxv. 1-14) had foretold that *seventy years* after the fall of Jerusalem the king of Babylon would be punished, and the Hebrew captives liberated, "the Lord stirred up the spirit of

Cyrus, king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth, and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah," etc. (Ezra i. 1-3.) So he avowedly accepted the prophecy as a divine commission.

The good work was happily accomplished. No event in history is more notorious or undisputed, and it would be almost waste of time to labour after monumental confirmation, but I cannot refrain from noting the occurrence of this singularly honoured name in some inscriptions not yet destroyed. One is on a brick to be seen among the Oriental antiquities in the British Museum, and is thus translated :

"Ku-*ra*¹ builder of
 Bit-Saggalti² and Bit-Sidda
 Son of Kambuziya³
 The powerful *king*⁴ am I."

After a reign of twenty-nine years, Cyrus died in a good old age. His tomb yet remains⁵ on the site of ancient Pasargadae, the present *Murgab*, lying E.N.E. of Shiraz, but was rifled many ages ago. On marble pillars, some of which yet mark the boundary of the area wherein the tomb stands, the words remain inscribed in old Persian and Median: "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenian."⁶

¹ Cyrus, the *ra* is restored by the translator, Mr. George Smith.

² *Ti* the termination of the name restored.

³ Cambyses.

⁴ *King* is restored also, where the brick is broken.

⁵ Sir Robert Ker Porter's *Travels*, i., 498.

⁶ Descendant of Achæmenes, from whom came the dynasty of which Cyrus was a member.

The tomb has been seen and sketched by Sir Robert Ker Porter and other travellers. It had been described by Aristobulus, an attendant on Alexander the Great, who also saw and examined it. This description, and the traveller's picture, unquestionably represent the same object, on which we must dwell for a moment.

Arrian preserves the narrative of Aristobulus, who relates that when Alexander came to Pasargadæ, and found the tomb of Cyrus broken open and robbed, he was extremely angry. It stood in the royal gardens, surrounded by a grove planted with all kinds of trees; a Persian paradise, watered by a perennial stream, and abounding with the choicest flowers. It was a square pyramidal structure of beautiful white marble, surmounted with a funeral chamber of massive walls, and solid stone roof vaulted within. A small door opened into the chamber, so small that a middle-sized man could scarcely get into it. As originally described, a gold chest containing the body of Cyrus was laid in this chamber, and must have been placed there before the door-way was completed. On a kind of couch, having four feet of solid gold, the chest was placed, covered with a Babylonian carpet, and laid on purple rugs. Royal robes of Babylonian workmanship were placed upon the couch. Median trousers, and stolæ of hyacinthine dye, some purple, some of various colours, chains for the neck, bracelets, swords, earrings, and other ornaments of gold and precious stones covered a table. Within the same area as the sepulchral pyramid, and not far from it, a small house was prepared for the Magi appointed by Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, to guard the place; their sacred office

was hereditary. They were to receive a daily ration from the king, consisting of a sheep, with a certain measure of wine and flour, and every month a horse for sacrifice to Cyrus, some of the fat only being actually offered, and the flesh eaten by those who made the sacrifice. The epigraph was written in Persian characters, and Arrian gives it in Greek,¹ to the following effect, "O man! I am Cyrus the son of Cambyses, who have established a kingdom for the Persians, and have reigned king over Asia; therefore envy me not this monument."

But such was no longer the state of the tomb when Alexander saw it. Nearly all was gone. Only the coffin-chest and the couch were left. The chest was broken and beaten together that it might be more easily removed; but probably the robbers were surprised in the act, and had escaped, leaving the remnant of their spoil behind. Alexander saw with horror the scattered bones of the founder of the kingdom he had conquered, and commanded Aristobulus to have the chest repaired, the skeleton replaced and covered with the lid which had been thrown aside, and the doorway closed with stone and mortar, and sealed with the royal seal. After examining the Magian guards, but failing to get information of the criminals, he released them and departed.²

The above inscription, as given by Arrian, differs from the brief sentence on the pillars, and is in fact the proper epigraph copied from the tomb,³ and con-

¹ *Ω ἄνθρωπε, ἐγὼ Κῦρός εἰμι ὁ Καμβύσου, ὁ τὴν ἀρχὴν Πέρσαις καταστησάμενος, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας, μὴ οὖν φθόνει μοι τοῦ μνήματος.

² *Arriani de Exped. Alex. Magni Hist.*, Lib. vi., ad calcem.

³ Επεγέγραπτο δὲ ὁ τάφος Περσικοῦς γράμμασι.

tains a few words which correspond with the narrative in the book of Daniel, where the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus is recorded, and the subsequent accession of Cyrus to the throne is the crowning event of that portion of Sacred History.

CYRUS.

THE RELIGION OF CYRUS AND THE PERSIANS.

EZRA V. 13-15.

“**I**N the first year of Cyrus, the king of Babylon, the same king Cyrus made a decree to build this house of God. And the vessels also of gold and silver of the house of God, which Nebuchadnezzar took out of the temple that was in Jerusalem, and brought them into the temple of Babylon, those did Cyrus the king take out of the temple of Babylon, and they were delivered unto one whose name was Sheshbazzar, whom he had made governor, and said unto him, *Take these vessels, go, carry them into the temple that is in Jerusalem, and let the house of God be builded in his place.*” (Ezra v. 13-15.)

Cyrus both spoke and acted as a believer in the true God. When, after his death, an attempt was made to nullify his act, and prevent the restoration of the city and the temple, Darius Hystaspes, his successor, caused search to be made for the authorization that was disputed; “and there was found at Achmetha (Ecbátana) in the palace that is in the province of the Medes, a roll, and therein the record written, that in the first year of Cyrus the king, the same Cyrus the king *made a decree concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded, the place where*

they offered sacrifices, and let the foundation thereof be strongly laid . . . and let the expenses be given out of the king's house ; and also let the golden and silver vessels of *the house of God*, which Nebuchadnezzar took forth out of the temple which is at Jerusalem and brought unto Babylon, be restored, and brought again unto the temple which is at Jerusalem, every one to his place, and place them *in the house of God*. Now, therefore, Tatnai . . . let the work of *this house of God* alone ; let the governor of the Jews, and the elders of the Jews build *this house of God* in his place . . . that they may offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto *the God of heaven*, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons." In this manner he speaks of the God of the Jews as of his own God, treats the matter as his own, and requires all to be done at his own cost, under heavy penalties in case of neglect or disobedience, closing with "I Darius have made a decree, let it be done with speed." (Ezra vi. 1-15.)

It cannot be reasonably objected that the monotheism of Cyrus was not pure, or that he would also acknowledge the existence of some secondary gods ; or, at least, of inferior and subordinate spirits, not to be addressed as gods. This cannot be proved of Cyrus, although it must be said of Darius, as appears plainly in the Behistun inscription.

Cyrus was so far from worshipping any other than the jealous God, who will not give His glory to another, that *the LORD* called him His shepherd, His anointed, His servant whose right hand He had holden, and whom He had chosen to subdue nations. (Is. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1, 3, 4.) The Magism which came

down with the Accads from the north had not yet openly put forth the claims of a god of darkness to rival the God of light ; and the demonology which afterwards debased the intellect and morals of the Persians, was but stealthily beginning to work its mischief among the worshippers of Ahuramasda. But when Medes and Persians were associated in affairs of government, and the intercourse of daily life, two very different systems began imperceptibly to intermingle ; and no half-instructed loyalty to the good and only God could withstand the subtle fascination of Magian spirit-worship, or fortify mere monotheists against the terror of a god of darkness.

In the mixed society of Babylon, Magians, trading in incantations which were the more formidable for their mysterious obscurity, acquired resistless influence ; and after the reign of Darius Hystaspis,¹ who abominated the doctrine of devils, of which I have given examples in my notes on spirit-worship, the Accadian magic produced such an entire change that it would be impossible to judge aright of the religion of Cyrus, and his relation to the Jews, if it were imagined to agree with that of his successors on the throne of Persia. Isaiah did indeed utter a sentence against the dualistic error ; and Cyrus might be put on his guard by the words of the inspired prophet, when he foretold the commission which the God of the Hebrews would give him, to open the two-leaved gates of Babylon and subdue kings, and the promise to raise him up in righteousness to build His city and let go His captive people. "I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me. I am *the* LORD, and there is none else ; there is

¹ Otherwise written "son of Hystaspes."

no God beside me. I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know, from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness ; I make peace and create evil: I the LORD do all these things." (Is. xlv. 5-7.)

Now this doctrine of divine revelation, is diametrically opposite to all that the Magians had ever taught, and would soon again propagate with augmented zeal throughout the empire ; being only restrained from so doing for a time by the known abhorrence of Cyrus and of Darius also. The latter declared, in the Behistun inscription, that a Magian pretender to the crown of Persia, during a brief period of ascendancy, had corrupted the state, and actively propagated impiety. Zoroaster made his first appearance, according to the concurrent testimony of several eastern writers,¹ in the reign of this same Darius, one of them says, *after* he had reigned thirty years ; and by clever perseverance induced the king to become his patron as reformer of the Magian religion, and, under pretence of reformation, fixed his own system in the Zendavesta, wherein is inculcated the fear of the bad spirit Angromanyus, usually called Ahriman, together with the worship of the good. The Zendavesta, however, is a compilation of many writings, with the additions of Zoroaster himself, and is chiefly to be valued for some very ancient fragments of purer doctrine. The Yasna, or book on sacrifice, is sufficiently characteristic of the work in general.

"I pray and invoke the great Ormuzd, glorious

¹ *Historia Religionis Veterum Persarum*, etc., Autor est Thomas Hyde, S. T. D., Oxon. 1700, cap. xxiv.

with dazzling light, most perfect, most excellent, most pure, most mighty, most wise; whose body is the purest above all that is holy, who only thinks that which is good, the source of all pleasure, who gives me that which I possess, who is strong and powerful, who nourishes, who, as the sovereign, is altogether excellent." So far as this prayer goes, it is very good, but the framer of it fails to catch a clear perception of absolute godhead.

The attributes of Ormuzd are not absolutely perfect. The terms of this laudatory description are but comparative. This great god is not a pure spirit, and has a body only comparatively pure, "excelling in its purity all other bodies."

The second section of the first chapter of the Yasna reveals the polytheism of the system: "I pray and invoke Bahman, Ardibehesht, Shariver, Sapandomad, Khordad, Amerdad, Goshorun, who has care of the flocks, the fire of Ormuzd, the most active of the Amshaspands." Polytheism, we may well say; for whatever these beings may be called, whether spirits, angels, or genii, they are addressed as gods with invocation and prayer; and the long chapter from which the above sentences are extracted, consists entirely of the like. Element-worship, sun-worship, and spirit-worship are mingled together, beginning with Mithra, or the sun, who fructifies the barren fields, who surveys all things with a thousand eyes, and hears all creatures with a thousand ears. The worshipper is instructed to invoke and celebrate the mountain of life, created by Ormuzd, resplendent with light, clothed with beauty, the abode of happiness.¹ Cyrus,

¹ *Commentaire sur le Yaçna, l'un des livres religieux des Parses*, par Eugene Burnouf, Chap. I., sections 1, 2, 9, 10, 34.

we may be sure, knew nothing of these Accadian phantoms, adopted by Zoroaster.

Here, then, in the thirty-first year of Darius Hystaspis, under a pretence of reforming Magianism, a new religion was introduced among the Persians; and the "sacred book" which Zoroaster pretended to have written by inspiration, or to have received from heaven, also contains such extracts from a very ancient and venerable work as may help us to conceive what was the faith of the most ancient Persians, and how near it comes to that of the prophets of the living God. I now borrow from a later version passages which are believed to be of very remote antiquity, and certainly present a doctrine very near that of Moses and the prophets, if it be not the same. Zoroaster adopts the language for his own, and says:

"I believe thee to be the best being of all, the source of light for the world. Everybody shall choose (believe in) thee, as the source of light. Thee, holiest spirit, Mazdá.¹ Thou createst all true good things by means of the power of thy good mind at any time, and promisest us (who believe in thee) a long life.

"I will believe thee to be the powerful holy (god) Mazdá. For thou givest with thy hand, filled with helps, good to the pious man, as well as to the impious, by means of the warmth of the fire² strengthening the good things. From this reason the vigour of the good mind has fallen to my (Zoroaster's) lot.

"Thus I believed in thee as the holy god, thou

¹ Mazdá. The same as Ahuramazda = Ormazd.

² Fire. Supposed in the Zendavesta and the Vedas to be the cause of all life diffused throughout the universe.

living, wise! Because I beheld thee to be the primeval cause of life in the creation. For thou hast made (instituted) holy customs and words; thou hast given a bad fortune (emptiness) to the base, and a good to the good man. I will believe in thee, thou glorious god; in the last (future) period of creation."

Zoroaster acknowledges this god to be the source of inspiration, and prays him that he may be taught. He wants to know the origin of evil, and to know about the spirits of evil; and by so confessing that the dualistic doctrine he delivers to his followers had not been previously revealed, he confessed that it was then published by himself for the first time; therefore it could not have been known by Cyrus. Again he repeats the ancient truth, making it serve as a preface to his innovations:

"By means of his power and rule the generation gone by subsisted, and also those to come will subsist in him. The sincere man's mind is aspiring to the everlasting immortality, the destroyer of the wicked. She (this immortality) is in the possession of the living wise, the lord of the creatures.

"Him, whom I desire to worship, and celebrate with my hymns, I beheld just now with mine eyes; him who knows the living (*Ahura*) wise (*Mazdá*) as the source of the good mind, the good action, and the good word.

"Him will I adore with the good mind, him who is always propitious to us by day and by night him will I adore with the prayers of pure devotion.

"He who created, by means of his wisdom, the good and naughty mind in thinking, words, and deeds, rewards his obedient followers with prosperity. Art

not thou (Mazdá) he in whom the last cause of both intellects is hidden (both good and evil)?”¹

Now these sentences contain no recognition of an evil god, rival and antagonist of the good one, but rather a direct contradiction of the Accadian dualism adopted and propagated by this very Zoroaster. Professor Haug, therefore, having translated the *Zenda-vesta*, and closely studied the doctrine it contains, recognises in its descriptions of Ahuramazda a being perfectly identical with the God revealed in the Old Testament, the creator of the earthly and spiritual life, Lord of the universe having all creatures in His hand. He is light and the fountain of light, wisdom, intellect. All good things proceed from Him, rectitude, immortality, health, truth, piety, and wealth. All these He grants to righteous persons, who are pure in thought, word, and deed. Ruler of the universe, He at the same time rewards the good, and punishes the wicked. “All that is created, good or evil, fortune or misfortune, is his work.”² That a separate evil spirit, of equal power with Ahuramazda, is entirely strange to the earlier Persian theology, though the existence of such an opinion among the ancient Zoroastrians can be gathered from some later books, such as the *Vendidad*.³

¹ *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsees*, by Martin Haug, Dr. Phil., Bombay, 1862, p. 146-159.

² So speaks Isa. xlv. 5-7.

³ *Essays, etc.*, Haug, p. 257.

ZERUBBABEL.

 HAGGAI II. 20-23.

WHEN Cyrus the Great permitted the Jews to return to Jerusalem, he appointed Zerubbabel, otherwise Sheshbazzar, if we call him by his Chaldee name, to be their governor. Jerusalem and Judea being a part of the Persian empire, Zerubbabel was fitly chosen to that office, being a Jew and a descendant of David. We find his name in the genealogy of our Lord as given by St. Matthew and St. Luke.¹ Zerubbabel, however, could not act independently of the king of Persia, whose servant he was, neither could he escape the interferences to which all public officers are liable, nor avoid the delays and failures of those among the people whose duty it chiefly was to carry into effect the good intention of the king, and his own sincere desire.

Since the arrival of Zerubbabel and his company (B.C. 536) sixteen years had passed away, and the work was not yet done. The foundation of the temple was laid with great solemnity and gladness in the second month of the second year of their return, which was no doubt as early as practicable, but the building was interrupted by the vexatious interference of the people of the land, and was afterwards delayed

¹ : זְרֻבְבָל בֶּרֶךְ שֶׁשְׁבַצָר. Σαλατιήλ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ζοροβάβελ. Hag. i. 1; Matt. i. 12; Lu. iii. 27.

by the indolence of the Jews themselves, and the selfishness of some who spent their time and energies on building costly dwellings for their own comfort. But in the second year of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, it pleased God to bestow the spirit of prophecy on Haggai and Zechariah, and send them "to prophesy to the Jews that were in Judah and Jerusalem, in the name of the God of Israel." The zeal of the whole community was quickened; and at the same time, after correspondence on the subject with the king at Susa, and search among the records at Ecbátana, Darius graciously renewed the authority given by Cyrus for executing the sacred works, and furnishing the needful grant from the tribute of the country. "In the second year of Darius the king (B.C. 520), in the sixth month, in the first day of the month, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the prophet unto Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Josedech, the high priest, saying: Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, This people say, The time is not come that the Lord's house should be built." (Haggai i. 1, 2.) For this the prophet reprov'd them severely, but they were made conscious of their unfaithfulness, and "obeyed the voice of the Lord their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the Lord God had sent him, and the people did fear before the Lord." (Haggai v. 12.)

"And again the word of the Lord came unto Haggai in the four and twentieth day of the month, saying, Speak to Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth; and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will

destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen ; and I will overthrow the chariots, and those that ride in them ; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother. In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the Lord, and will make thee as a signet : for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of hosts." (Haggai ii. 20-23.)

Haggai predicts a great political convulsion that would be felt through the world ; an overthrowing of the throne of kingdoms, the downfall of a king of kings ; the fall of an empire, with great destruction of life in battles. At the same time he promises the governor of Judah tranquil enjoyment of his own position, as he shall live exempt from the general disorder of society. While that great war is raging a child will be born who shall spend some of the best years of his life in collecting authentic records of its history, and shall gather from the warriors, while yet fresh in their memory, lively recollections of some of the most stirring scenes that the pen of historian has ever pictured. Herodotus is that witness. His work serves us as a confirmatory monument, and enables us to comprehend a prophetic passage which, without such a key, would be hopelessly obscure.

From small beginnings a quarrel had arisen between Persia and Greece which led to petty warfare, over an ever widening area, for more than a hundred years. During forty years after the prophecy of Haggai this quarrel was approaching to its crisis, and uncounted thousands were perishing in battles. At length, in the year B.C. 480, while Zerubbabel is believed to be still peacefully ruling at Jerusalem,

Xerxes, king of Persia, set out on his march for Greece, accompanied by a mighty multitude. Of all the armaments that Herodotus ever heard of, this was incomparably the greatest.¹ "For was there a nation in all Asia," so far as Asia was known, "which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece? Or was there a river, except those of unusual size, which sufficed for his troops to drink? One nation furnished ships; another was arrayed among the foot-soldiers; a third had to supply horses; a fourth, transports for the horse, and men also for the transport service; a fifth, ships of war towards the construction of bridges; a sixth, ships and provisions." To avoid a second wreck under Mount Athos, he caused a canal, twelve furlongs in length, broad and deep, to be dug across the neck of land which connects the mountain with the continent, to provide passage for full-oared triremes, two abreast, where all his fleet might pass. This work was done by detachments from the troops of various nations, who worked under the lash of task-masters. The same persons were employed in building bridges over the river Strymon, which separates Thrace from Macedonia. Along the line of march he established depôts of provisions, to diminish the labour of transport. (20-25).

On reaching the capital of Lydia, he sent heralds into Greece to demand earth and water in token of surrender of the territory, and to require preparations to be made everywhere for feasting the king on his arrival. He made no such demand of Athens nor of Sparta, because Darius had already done so, but the Athenians threw his heralds into the *barathrum*, or "pit of

¹ Herod., *Hist.*, Lib. vii. 20.

punishment," to take earth for themselves, and the Spartans threw them into a well for water. Xerxes would go and take payment for the insult in those cities. (32.)

At Abydos, where the Hellespont (Dardanelles) is narrowest, measuring about a mile across, men to whom the work was assigned constructed a double bridge of ships: the Phœnicians one line, with cables of white flax; the Egyptians the other, with ropes of papyrus. But it happened that a storm broke the work into pieces, which so enraged Xerxes, that he ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the Hellespont, and a pair of fetters to be cast into it. They who scourged the water were to say, as they did it, "Thou bitter water, thy lord lays on thee this punishment for that thou hast wronged him without cause, having suffered no evil at his hands. Verily king Xerxes will cross thee, whether thou wilt or no. Well dost thou deserve that no man should honour thee with sacrifice, for thou art indeed a treacherous and unsavoury river." While this ceremony was going on, he had the overseers of the lost work beheaded. Other persons were employed to do the work better. On the side towards the Euxine Sea, 360 triremes and penteconters were moored and joined together to carry the bridge, and 314, whereon to lay it, on the other side. Three gaps were left to allow light craft passage for entering or leaving the Euxine. The cables were made taut from the opposite shores by help of capstans. To each bridge were assigned six cables, two of flax, and four of papyrus. Trunks of trees were then sawn into planks cut to the width of the bridge. These were laid, side by side, upon the

tightened cables, and then fastened on the top. This done, brushwood was brought, and arranged on the planks, after which earth was heaped upon the brushwood, and the whole trodden down into a solid mass. Lastly, a bulwark was set up on each side of the causeway, of such a height as to prevent the horses and the sumpter-beasts from seeing over it, and taking fright at the water. (33-36.)

All these works being finished, on the first approach of spring (B.C. 480), Xerxes led the whole host, fully equipped, on march from Sardis towards Abydos. They say that there was an eclipse of the sun as the army began to march, but that is doubted. Some ill omen caused alarm, and Pythius, an aged Lydian of immense wealth, who had presented to Xerxes a gift of money of fabulous amount, and joined the expedition at an earlier date, ventured to approach the king, and ask a favour of slight amount, but immense importance to himself. Xerxes engaged to grant him whatever he wished, and bade him tell his wish freely. He asked that the eldest of his five sons, all five being called to join in the expedition, might remain at home with him, to be his prop and stay, and the guardian of his wealth. With inconceivable brutality the tyrant gave him thanks for his money, but for his offence in wishing to withhold one of his children gave him the punishment of forfeiting the one he clung to most, and commanded that eldest son to be sought and brought, and cut asunder. It was done at the instant in his father's presence. The two halves of the body were laid on the great road, one on the right side and the other on the left, and the army marched between them, with Pythius and his other sons in the midst ;

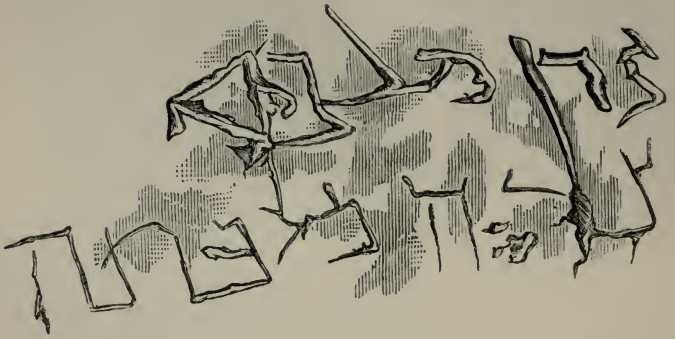
the blood of the murdered man, the agony and tears of the father and the brothers, and no doubt the imprecations of thousands, crying to God for vengeance. Xerxes, without shame or fear, went betwixt the two grand divisions of the vast armament, separated from each by an empty space before him and behind. He rode in a chariot drawn by sacred Nissæan horses, with a Persian charioteer standing by his side. A thousand Persian horsemen, picked men, went before him : a thousand chosen spearmen, also Persian ; ten Nissæan horses, daintily caparisoned, and the sacred chariot of Ormazd, drawn by eight milk-white steeds, with a charioteer on foot behind them, holding the reins, for no mortal was ever permitted to mount the chariot. Next to this was the chariot of Xerxes. Another splendid cavalcade came after (38-41). When on the site of Troy, he offered a thousand oxen to the Trojan Minerva, and the Magi poured libations to the heroes who were slain there. The night after this a panic fell on the camp. (43.)

Arrived at Abydos, where all things were made ready for the strength of Asia to pass over into Europe, Xerxes wished to take a view of all his armament. By his command a marble throne was set on the summit of a hill near the city, and thereupon he sat, gazed upon the shore below, and saw at one view all the land forces and the ships. "And now, as he looked and saw the whole Hellespont covered with the vessels of his fleet, and all the shore, and every plain about Abydos, as full as possible of men, Xerxes congratulated himself on his good fortune. But after a little while he wept." Herodotus relates a conversation which then passed

between his uncle Artabanus and himself, which may not have actually taken place: but there does appear to be a substance of truth in it, and we may safely conclude that Xerxes, Artabanus, and the Persians were all in some degree impressed with the awful magnitude and risk of the work before them, and were in that hour possessed with sad forebodings of reverse. (44-53.)

At break of day, on the morrow, all sorts of spices were burnt on the bridges, and the way was strewn with myrtle-boughs, all the multitude waiting the while to get sight of the sun as he rose. When it appeared, Xerxes poured a libation from a golden goblet into the sea, praying to the sun that no misfortune might befall him so as to hinder his conquest of Europe until he had reached its utmost boundaries. Then he cast a gold cup, a gold bowl, and a Persian sword into the Hellespont, and the army began to cross, and continued crossing seven days and seven nights without a pause. The king crossed last. The exact number of troops could not be told with certainty, but an attempt was then made to number them, and it is said that the whole land-army amounted to 1,700,000 men. (54, 55, 60.)

If careful classification and rigid discipline at the outset, and free application of the lash to quicken speed, enforce authority, and compel to fight could have ensured victory, all Europe would have been conquered; but there were many incurable elements of weakness. The Persian soldiers were decorated with lavish magnificence; each man glittered with gold. They were followed by litters wherein rode their concubines and servants; handsomely dressed



Sarcophagus of Queen Saron.

camels and sumpter-beasts carried their provisions. The navy consisted of 1,207 triremes, manned by Phœnicians, Syrians, Egyptians, and people from all the coasts and islands subject to Persia, and each ship had on board a band of soldiers, like Royal Marines in a British fleet. As if to make variety complete, a lady, Artemisia, queen of the Halicarnassians, contributed five triremes to the imperial naval force, commanded them in person with greater skill and valour too than many a man, and gave Xerxes wiser and more faithful counsel than he could get from any other of his allies. (83-99.) Xerxes hastily reviewed all these soldiers of all arms, and all the fleet, asking questions of every nation and tribe, and getting such answers as they could presume to give. But when he had asked Demaratus, a plain-spoken Greek, what reception he might expect from the Greeks, he received information which should have cooled his confidence, with cautions which he ought to have made use of; but he laughed at all he heard from Demaratus, and proceeded with his army to march through Thrace upon Greece.

It is not my purpose to trace his progress, but only to note the principal incidents in the narrative of Herodotus. On approaching the river Strymon, where bridges had been built for his passage, the troops had first to cross a tributary stream; and there the Magi sacrificed white horses, and performed many magical ceremonies to make the river favourable. Crossing the Strymon at a place called the Nine Ways, they took nine youths of the country, and as many maidens, and buried them alive. (113, 114.) Further on the way mischances began. At one

resting-place in the wild country, lions left their lairs at night, fell upon the camels, and ate many of them. (125.)

Fighting began at Thermopylæ, where Xerxes was taken by surprise with the heroic valour of Leonidas and his little band, and learned to respect the enemy he had pretended to despise. (212.) The first warlike operation of the fleet was of such a sort that any who believed in a retributive Providence might have taken to betoken the worst that could follow. "The barbarian," fitly so called, "took a ship, drew the handsomest of the men-at-arms to the prow of the vessel, and there sacrificed him ;" for they thought the man a good omen to their cause, seeing that he was at once so beautiful, and likewise the first captive they had made. (180.) At Sepias, in Magnesia, Xerxes numbered his men again, and found, as Herodotus sets it down, a grand total of 2,641,610 land and sea forces united. The number of attendants that followed the camp, with the crews of corn-barks and craft, was laid to be rather above than below that of the fighting men. If counted as equal only, that would give 5,283,220. But these numbers are thought to be exaggerated, and other calculations vary so much that nothing can be concluded from them. They may, by an inscription at Thermopylæ, be reduced to 3,300,000 or a little more. (184-187.)

The fleet, which had lain at Therma, sailed thence to the Magnesian territory, and there occupied a strip of coast between the city of Casthanæa and Cape Sepias. The ships of the first row were moored to the land, while the remainder swung at anchor further

off, row upon row, eight deep. One night, after the crews were all asleep, a strong wind arose, blowing in shore, with heavy sea. Some part of the ships managed to escape the peril, but about 400 were dashed to pieces, a multitude of men were drowned, and much treasure was engulfed. Provision-craft, and much other shipping perished, with all that was on board. Of those that kept afloat fifteen were taken by the Greeks. (188-193.) This disaster happened at the same time as the inglorious defeat at Thermopylæ, too well known to need repetition here. (201-228.) The same tempest wrecked a squadron of the fleet near Artemisium, and a small number of Greek ships captured thirty more. (viii. 10-13.)

But Xerxes does his best on shore. The Thessalians, his allies, help him to ravage the country; destroying towns, and burning down temples, he advances towards Attica. At Delphi they were proceeding to plunder the temple, but a thunder-storm terrified them; they fled in dismay from the anger of the gods, and were pursued by the Delphians and smitten with considerable slaughter. (32-38.) He then marched through Bœotia, burnt Thespiæ and Plataea, entered Attica, laid waste everything before his army with fire and sword, made himself master of Athens, which he found almost deserted by the inhabitants; and so general a desertion set in from nearly all parts of Greece, that the land seemed to be effectually conquered and made part of the Persian dominions. Exulting in the conquest ere it was complete, he sent a courier to Susa to give the joyful tidings to Artabanus. Attica, in truth, was nearly without inhabitant, Athens for the most part in ruins,

and the temple of Minerva, in the Acropolis, burnt down. (50-53.) After all his losses his camp is quite as strong as it was before the fall of thousands at Thermopylæ. The Grecian fleet, however, remained, and if that could be as effectually silenced as Attica and Athens, the work would all be done. The king therefore went to Phalerum, where the remnant of the Persian fleet lay at anchor, to prepare for a decisive effort. Seated in a chair of honour, and surrounded by the sovereigns of the nations, and the captains of the ships, he sent Mardonius round the assemblage to question each whether a sea-fight should be risked or not. Beginning with the king of Sidon, then going to the king of Tyre, and afterwards to each in order, he received the same affirmative reply from all but one, advising to engage the Greeks. That one was brave queen Artemisia. She would have dissuaded him. She thought that, on shore, he was already conqueror; that the Grecian states being divided, he had nothing more to do than receive the submission of them all, and then recross the Hellespont, and return to Persia with all Greece added to his empire. On sea his fleet had suffered much: the Greek sailors were as superior to his as men to women, and the issue of an engagement with them would be very doubtful. But, for his part, Xerxes thought the naval defeats were owing only to his absence. He would be present now, and with his presence victory would be sure. This time he would be eye-witness of the combat.

The king embarks, the ships put out to sea, and take their stations off the island of Salamis. The Grecian captains make no delay, but sail down upon

them, and join fight. Xerxes, seated on a hill, saw the engagement, desperate on both sides. But while the Greeks fought steadily, his captains were in disorder, gave way, and their ships were nearly all destroyed or taken. A deadly fear came upon him. He thought of the bridges on the Hellespont, where lay his only way of retreat, and he apprehended that the enemy would at once destroy it. Yet he had no hope of safety but in flight. For the moment he betook himself to Athens, and sent a swift messenger to Susa with the intelligence of his misfortune. When the messenger reached the city he found it full of rejoicing over the victory announced by the one who came before him, but his tidings plunged them into grief and shame. (67-97.)

At Athens he takes counsel with Mardonius, whom he leaves in occupation of as much as he may be able to hold, with a force of 300,000 men, and instructions to chastise the Spartans and take Sparta. Then he takes the bulk of his army, and sets out to march homeward by the way that he came, hoping to re-cross the Hellespont at Abydos. But this time there was no preparation for the sustenance of so vast a multitude. "Along the line of march, in every country where they chanced to be, his soldiers seized and devoured whatever corn they could find belonging to the inhabitants; or, if no corn was to be found, they gathered the grass, and stripped the trees of leaves and bark, and so fed themselves. Dysentery and plague attacked the troops while they were on the march, and greatly thinned the ranks. Many died, and their corpses lay unburied in the rear. The sick were left to the pity of the inhabitants in the

cities that lay upon the route, in Thessaly, in Pæonia, in Macedonia. Here Xerxes had left the sacred chariot and horses of his god, but they were not to be found again. After forty-five days' march the few surviving Asiatics reached the passage, entered their ships hastily, and were carried across the water to Abydos. As for the bridges, they had been broken in a storm, and had disappeared. In Abydos the forlorn and half-dead wreck of that wretched expedition rested for a little. Many of them ate ravenously, and died in consequence. A very few living men, with Xerxes, made their way to Sardis. (113-117.)

Mardonius, in Athens, touched with the panic which had paralysed his master, hearing that the Spartans were on the march to give him battle, burnt and demolished all that Xerxes had left standing, and withdrew to Thebes; while there he discovered that his troops were haunted with forebodings, and that their terror was not groundless. At Plataea the Greeks came to them and offered battle. Mardonius had 260,000 on the plain, and could not escape. In spite of themselves the men were daunted; only 3,000 marched off the field, death swallowed up all the rest. The remnant that were not encamped at Plataea were overtaken and slaughtered at Mycale. Mardonius, who had thirsted for the viceroyalty of Greece, perished at Plataea. A very few men indeed made good their flight, and appeared at Sardis to tell the king the last lines of the ignominious tale. (ix. 63, 101, 107.) With his extinction of a mad ambition closed the year 479 before Christ; and fifteen years later, after a cruel and licentious life, Xerxes was murdered in his bed.

With reference to the Scripture which the chapters of Herodotus confirm, we have now to note that the king of Persia was the only sovereign to be recognised in the text of Haggai. He only could be there described as "king of kings," and his throne as the "throne of kingdoms." It is true that that throne was not overthrown immediately on the flight of Xerxes from Athens, nor did the empire cease with his death; but his fatal expedition exhausted the resources of the empire, greatly reduced its population, and induced a decay which could never be arrested. It also provoked the enmity of all the Greek-speaking peoples, which no Persian craft or bribery could divert, and nothing but one great deed of retaliation could satisfy; such as the subsequent invasion of Asia by Alexander and the Macedonians, which annihilated for ever the Persian empire. (B.C. 330.)

Simultaneous with this succession of calamities was a succession of prosperous events in Judah and Jerusalem. The promise to Zerubbabel extended only to himself and to his work. How long he lived we cannot tell. We only know that his appointment to be governor of Jerusalem took effect in the year 536 before Christ (Ezr. i. 11); and that Ezra, his successor, entered on his office in 457, 79 years later, too long a period unless he had lived a hundred years or more; yet it is not likely that Jerusalem was many years without a governor; and however we may calculate, we are brought to the conclusion that his government was prolonged, and he outlived the ignominious return of Xerxes. According to the Divine promise, "The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house; his hands shall also finish

it" (Zec. iv. 9; B.C. 519): he did so finish it. (B.C. 515.) Fifty-eight years later Ezra received his appointment from Artaxerxes to precisely the same office, but with much larger powers. (Ezr. vii. 24-26; B.C. 457.) Now far within the beginning and the end of this term, that is to say, from 500 to 465, all the events above related took place. But amidst the sweeping conscription described fully by Herodotus (vii. 61-95), there is no mention nor trace of Jews, although Phœnicians and Syrians of Palestine are there. None of the burden falls upon Jerusalem, neither did any part of the immense armament pass that way, for it lay distant from the line of march. Only the Samaritans disturbed the restorers of the temple; only some Persian local authorities in any way interfered with them; but all annoyance was set aside by missives from the seat of government in Persia. The stir of preparation, the pressure of immense levies, the alarms of war were felt in the remotest corners of the empire, but nothing disturbed the tranquillity of Jerusalem. The heavens and the earth were shaken; the throne of kingdoms was moved from its place, soon to be overthrown; the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen in Asia and eastern Europe was destroyed; the chariots and charioteers, the horses and horsemen were overturned and cast down by the swords of the heathen; but *in that day* did the Lord take Zerubbabel his servant, and make him a signet, that by the accomplishment of his appointed work the prophet might know that he himself was sent of God. (Zec. iv. 9.)

KINGS OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

CANOPUS INSCRIPTION AND ROSETTA STONE.

DANIEL XI. 3-14.

THE third and fourth verses of the eleventh chapter of the book of Daniel obviously refer to Alexander the Great, whose patrimonial kingdom of Macedonia, and possessions by conquest in Asia and Africa, were divided into four kingdoms after his premature decease.

“A mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those.” (Dan. xi. 3, 4.)

In the north, Lesser Asia and Pontus fell to Antigonus. In the south, Egypt, the name being taken in its widest acceptation, was allotted to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, whose descendants were the Lagidæ. In the east, Syria and Babylonia had for sovereign Seleucus, whose descendants were the Seleucidæ. In the west, Aridæus, a base-born brother of Alexander, of mean capacity, took Macedonia, and therewith a

new name, Philip, once belonging to his father, and now enabling his successors to be called Philippians.

These divisions were situate toward the four winds as they lay relatively, but the kingdoms of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, also taken relatively, lay north and south. The kings of Syria and of Egypt, therefore, are now intended by the prophet when he speaks of the kings of north and south. As in these two kingdoms the events occurred which are thenceforth predicted by the prophet, their position only is taken into account during the remainder of what is called "The Scripture of Truth." In the former part of the section before us, that is to say, on to the seventeenth verse, and again at the twenty-fifth and some following verses, the south is much spoken of, and our attention is also invited to monuments of the Ptolemies in Egypt.

After this Antiochus Epiphanes occupies the scene, and Porphyry discerning the exact application of this part of the prophecy to the events of his life, pronounced the book of Daniel to have been written after the death of Epiphanes. This is observed by St. Jerome,¹ and is remarkable as an involuntary testimony to the truth of this prophecy by an avowed enemy of divine revelation. But Daniel was mentioned as a contemporary by Ezekiel, who wrote during the Babylonish captivity, and the books of Ezekiel and Daniel were translated into Greek in Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died 246 years before Christ, whereas Antiochus

¹ "Tanta dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita." *Proëm. in Danielelem.*

Epiphanes did not begin to reign until seventy-one years after the death of Philadelphus.

The history foreshadowed by the spirit of prophecy is fully written by Greek and Latin contemporaneous authors, but we may reasonably expect original monumental records of the Ptolemæan period. Two such, at least, are already in our possession, one in an authentically written copy from a monument which probably still exists, and the other very recently discovered, of which there is an admirably perfect cast in the Egyptian Gallery of the British Museum.

The first passage which I find thus confirmed is the following :

“ But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail, and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold.” (Dan. xi. 7, 8.)

St. Jerome explains as follows :

“ Berenice being killed, Ptolemy Philadelphus having died in Egypt, and Ptolemy III. himself, her brother, surnamed Euergetes, having succeeded to the kingdom, ‘ out of a branch of her roots,’ because he was her brother, came with a great army, and entered in the province¹ of the king of the north, that is to say, Seleucus Callinicus, who reigned with his mother Laodice in Syria, and dealt so ill with them, and so made his way as to get possession of Syria and Cilicia, and the upper country beyond the Euphrates,

¹ So Jerome translates מִצְרָיִם.

and almost all Asia. And when he heard that sedition was breaking out in Egypt, he spoiled the kingdom of Seleucus, took forty thousand talents of silver, and precious vessels, and two thousand five hundred images of gods, and among them those which Cambyses had carried away to Persia after taking Egypt. Then the Egyptians, being wholly given to idolatry, called him Benefactor (*Euergetes*), because he had brought back to them their gods."

One of the monuments was known to Cosmas (Indicopleustas), a monk in the sixth century, who lived in the city of Adulè, or Adulis, now called Azoolè. The ruins of that ancient city remain, and the site is the same as that marked by Cosmas, two miles from the Red Sea, at the head of Annesley Bay, on the south side of a place called Zulla, and about three days' journey from Axum, to which city, metropolis of the Axumites, it served as port. He very distinctly describes the monument. It consisted of pure white marble, the blocks, or slabs being so put together as to resemble a massive chair, or throne. One who sat in it would look towards Axum along the road leading thither, as the equestrian statue of the late Prince Consort, in Holborn Circus, looks over the Viaduct into the City of London. On one tall slab, the back of the chair, was cut in Greek a very long inscription. Elesbaan, king of the Axumites, required the governor of Adulè to preserve a copy of the inscription at a time when war was imminent, and there was danger to the marble throne. Cosmas copied the inscription, taking care to keep a copy for himself, which, twenty-five years later he inserted

into his "Topography," where we now find it.¹ Mr. Consul Salt, who visited Abyssinia in the years 1809 and 1810, heard that the stone with its inscription was still preserved, but so jealously guarded by the people of Zulla that one of his party who endeavoured to make his way to Azoolè was forcibly prevented.²

The following is my translation of the former part of the inscription.

"The great king Ptolemy, son of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, divine children of king Ptolemy and queen Berenice, descendant of the saviour gods, (Soteres), etc. Having received from his father the kingdoms of Egypt and Libya, and Syria, and Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Lycia, and Caria, and the islands of the Cyclades, he invaded Asia with forces of horse and foot, and naval expedition, and elephants of the Troglodytes and Ethiopians, which his father had himself taken out of those countries, brought into Egypt, and trained for military service. And having made himself master of all the country on this side the Euphrates, and all Cilicia and Pamphylia, and Ionia, with the Hellespont, and Thrace, and all the forces in those countries, and the Indian elephants, and having appointed all the subject monarchs in those countries, he passed over the river Euphrates, and Mesopotamia, and Babylonia, and Susiana, and Persia, and Media, and all the rest as far as Bactriana, subduing all before him. And having required back again whatever sacred things had been carried away

¹ *Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum ex MSS. Græcis eruit*, etc., D. Bernardus Montfaucon, Tom. II., p. 143, seq.

² Salt's *Voyage to Abyssinia*, London, 1814, p. 453.

by the Persians from Egypt, and recovered, with the other treasure which was in those places for Egypt again, he sent back his forces by the canals which had been dug.”¹

The second monument is the Canopus Decree on a stelè found in 1866 by the Doctors Lepsius and Reinisch, in the ruins of San, the Zoan of the Old Testament, and the Tanis of the Greeks. As measured by Dr. Lepsius, it is about seven feet high and two feet and a half wide. There are 37 lines of hieroglyphic and 76 lines Greek, the demotic being cut in a separate and smaller slab. Lepsius immediately published magnificent facsimiles of diglot, exhibiting the characters in equal size with the original. Reinisch and his colleague Roesler, with equal diligence, but without facsimile, copied and translated the decree. Both translations are German.² I make use of the Greek. The recovery of the idols and other treasure is here stated rather more fully than in the Adulè inscription. The date of this decree corresponds with March 7, B.C. 283.

The high priests, prophets, and they who enter into the adyt to robe the gods, with the swift messengers, sacred scribes, and other priests and companions of the priests were assembled in session, in the temple of the gods Benefactors in Canopus, a city about

¹ It will be sufficient to copy the concluding lines of this extract. Καὶ ἀναζητήσας ὅσα ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν ἱερὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξήχθη, καὶ ἀνακομίσας, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης γάζης, τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων εἰς Αἴγυπτον δυνάμεις ἀπέστειλε, διὰ τῶν ὀρυχθεντῶν ποταμῶν.

² *Das bilingue Dekret von Kanopus in der original grosse, mit Uebersetzung und Erklärung beider Texte.* Herausgegeben von R. Lepsius, Berlin, 1866. *Die Zweisprachige Inschrift von Tanis zum ersten Male herausgegeben und Uebersetzt,* von S. Leo Reinisch und E. Robert Roesler. Wien, 1866.

twelve miles N.E. of Alexandria on the shore of the Mediterranean sea, said :

(7) "Forasmuch as king Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, brother-and-sister gods (*θεῶν ἀδελφῶν*), (8) and queen Berenice, his sister and wife, the gods Euergetæ (benefactors) confer many and great benefits on the temples of the land, and (9) more and more augment the honours of the gods, of Apis, of Mnevis, and of the other sacred animals which are in the land, (10) taking the care of them altogether with great cost and state ; and the sacred images that were carried out of the country by (11) the Persians, the king, having led out a martial expedition, saved again for Egypt, and restored to the temples whence each was first carried away, and the (12) country has been preserved in peace by his fighting for it against many nations and their rulers, and to all in the country (13) with other under their royal dominion, has brought prosperity."

After recounting some of their good deeds, which were certainly worthy of gratitude, the priests proceed to offer them the incense of divine worship.

(20) "Good fortune ! Let there be rendered by the priests of the land, all honours (21) hitherto accustomed to king Ptolemy and queen Berenice, *gods and benefactors*, and let them magnify their parents, the brother-and-sister gods, and their grandparents (22) the saviour-gods. Also let the priests in each of the temples of the country be pre-named priests of the gods Benefactors, and so inscribed (23) in all decrees ; and also let the rings they are to wear be first engraved with *priesthood of the gods*

Euergetæ. Moreover, let them take precedence (24) of the four tribes which are now chief of the multitude of priests in every temple, to be pre-named (25) *Fifth tribe of the gods Euergetæ*, inasmuch as he (Ptolemy Euergetes) also happened to be born with the good fortune, and in the lineage of king Ptolemy, son of the Philadelphi gods, (26) on the fifth day of Dis, which is with all men an occasion of much good: and into this tribe shall be elected (27) those that were made priests in the first year, and to the month Mesore of the ninth year, and their children for ever."

This fifth tribe of the *Euergetæ* priests is to be enriched with many other privileges. King Ptolemy Euergetes, and his sister-queen Berenice, are to be honoured with a yearly feast to be kept by all the people, when for five days together all may make merry with sacrifices and oblations. From this time forth the calendar is to be rectified by the supplement of five days, and a day additional of the fourth year: and this ordinance is made by command of the gods *Euergetæ*, Ptolemy and Berenice.

(46) "And then the daughter of king Ptolemy (47) and queen Berenice, the gods *Euergetæ*, born and called Berenice, and also immediately acknowledged queen; it happened that this virgin (48) immediately passed away to the everlasting world, the priests of the country remaining with the king, to present themselves to him year by year; (49) who had great grief on account of what had happened, and determined to honour the king and the queen by establishing the goddess with Osiris in the (50) temple at Canopus, which is not only one

of the first temples, but is also under the king, and of all the temples in the land is among the most greatly honoured."

A multitude of ceremonies are ordained in honour of this infant goddess, who is to be invocated as Queen of the Virgins, being deified, as by right of a divine birth; and a golden symbolic image, together with jewels and shields of gold, is to be made to her honour, under special magical directions, and placed in all the temples of Egypt.

(73) "And he who is appointed president and chief priest of each temple, with the scribes (74) of the temple shall write this decree on a stelè of stone or brass in the sacred characters, the Egyptian and the Greek, and shall place (75) it in the most conspicuous part of each temple of the first, second, and third class, that the priests of the country may be sure to honour the gods Euergetæ, and their children, (76) as is just."

So proud a title was this *Euergetes*, inscribed on signets, written in decrees, and borne by gods! In it we may discern the significance of one of our Saviour's sentences: "The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors (the very same word being used in the Gospel as on the Ptolemæan monuments, *εὐεργέται*). But ye shall not be so." (Lu. xxii. 25, 26.)

The single incident of a Ptolemy bringing back the idols and the golden toys looted by Cambyses and his Persians, cannot be all that was intimated in the sacred text of Daniel. That incident was typical of all that the priests put upon record in their

assemblage in the temple of Canopus. The prophecy briefly told how this king of all the Ptolemies, would most signalise himself by restoration of the decaying national idolatry; how he assumed the peculiar fictions and forms of the Egyptian superstition. There appears the same identification of king and god; the same pretended divine lineage; the same apotheosis of the dead. And here is the same monstrous policy, the interchange of royal and sacerdotal favours; the priest conferring godhead on the king, and the king heaping wealth, power, and titles, upon the priest; the nation being cruelly impoverished and debased between them: all this followed from the fatal benefaction of Euergetes. To facilitate all this the mythologies of Egypt and Greece were artfully intermingled, and a third system resulted from the union, as when the trial is made to improve the feeble cavalry of an army by crossing it with a foreign breed. But the experiment was worthless. The religions of the Pharaohs, the Athenians, and the Ptolemies have been extinct for ages. In Egypt, Christianity first, and then the fierce invasion of Islamism, destroys the last vestige of them all.

Much more monumental evidence will probably be found to complete the confirmation of this portion of the book of the prophet Daniel. The Rosetta stone, read in connection with other inscriptions or writings of the Ptolemean period, may be found useful. It contains a decree of priests assembled at Memphis to welcome king Ptolemy Epiphanes with his queen, and acknowledge his goodness to themselves and his munificence in maintaining the grandeur of their temples. They pronounce the king and

queen to be gods, and they ordain the worship that shall be paid to them.

The text of Daniel says :

“And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South : also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision ; but they shall fall.” (Dan. xi. 14.)

The standing up of many against the king of the South is all that concerns us here : the latter part relates to the Jews who at this time migrated into Egypt, not as invaders, but as allies.¹ This invasion of Egypt is very fully referred to in this decree. It says that Ptolemy Epiphanes ordained that :

(19) “those returned from wars, and others who had been (20) engaged in foreign matters(?), in times of tumult to remain on their own estates. He also made provision for forces of horse and foot, and ships, to be sent out against invaders of (21) Egypt by sea and land ; having borne great costs in money and provisions that the temples and all the inhabitants might be in safety, and having (22) arrived at Lycopolis in the nome Busirites, which had been seized and fortified to stand a siege, with an abundant supply of arms, and with all else that was requisite, as if for a long (23) time by a strong foreign force, the wicked ones being gathered together against it ; they had done much mischief to the temples and to the inhabitants, and (24) having sat down before it with banks, trenches, and walls, all worthy to be remembered, surrounded it ; and the Nile, having made a great rise in the eighth year, as is usual, overflowed

¹ *Historical Exposition of the Book of Daniel*, by W. H. Rule, D.D., 1863. Seeleys.

the plains: (25) he restrained the flood, by stopping the mouths of the rivers in many places, supplying for this purpose no small amount of money, and appointing horsemen and foot-soldiers for protection of (26) these works: in a short time he took the city by force, and destroyed all the wicked that were in it. Like Hermes (*Thoth*), and Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, they made an end of those that in those places (27) had revolted first; and them who had led away the deserters from his own father, and had thrown the country into confusion, and desecrated the temples, when he came to Memphis, avenging his father (28) and his own kingdom, he punished them, as it was fitting that he should, at the time when he had to execute all that the laws required of him on his accession to the kingdom.”¹

So copiously does the Egyptian monument expound the fulfilment of the Hebrew prophecy. However, according to the next verse of the prophecy, the king of the north comes again; this time prevails; the general of Epiphanes is beaten, and, no doubt, the Jewish allies fall victims, as was predicted.

¹ For the Greek text of the Rosetta Stone, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, Car. et. Theod. Mulleri, Parisiis, 1841, Tom. I., with *Description Grecque de Rosette*, par M. Latronne. An English translation is given in *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV.

DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE AND CITY OF JERUSALEM.

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DANIEL IX. 26, 27.

HERE is a prediction in the book of Daniel, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince should be 69 weeks (of days, or 483 years), when the Messiah was cut off (or *solemnly separated*¹ as a victim devoted to sacrifice), but not for himself, and one week (or 7 years,² making in all 70 weeks, or 490 years). I venture to count this period from 4257 to 4746, inclusive, of the Julian calculation, from the decree of Artaxerxes to rebuild Jerusalem to the ascension of our Lord.³

“And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off (*set apart*), but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come (*the army of Titus*, in spite of all his efforts to prevent it) shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he (*Messiah the Prince*) shall confirm the covenant with many (*the*

¹ נִקְרָח.

² From the Baptism to the Ascension.

³ I have treated the subject also at length in my *Historical Exposition*. As already quoted.

Gentiles) for one week (*the seven years as above defined*); and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate." (Dan. ix. 26, 27.)

The consummation, the thing determined, the outpouring of vengeance on the desolate was again foretold by the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, with express reference to these very words in the book of Daniel: "When therefore ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth let him understand,) then let them which are in Judæa flee to the mountains." (Mat. xxiv. 15, 16.)

Flavius Josephus, an eye-witness, relates the siege, the destruction, and the triumph of the Roman conqueror so fully, and so well, and an English translation of his books on the Jewish war is so accessible, that I shall not be expected to make a literal quotation.¹ Josephus describes how one Jesus, or Joshua, a priest, purchased his life of Titus by bringing him, out of the Temple, many precious things belonging to the sacred worship of the Jews, and how Phinehas, the treasurer of the Temple, brought forth much more for the same reason.²

When describing the triumph given to Titus in Rome, the same historian distinctly relates that of all the objects taken in the Temple at Jerusalem, those that made the greatest figure were the golden table, of the weight of many talents, the golden candlestick,

¹ *The Jewish War*, VI., 4-10; VII., 1, 2.

² *Ibid.*, VI., 8.

constructed as it is now usually represented, and “the Law of the Jews.”¹

There yet remains in Rome a famous monument of this event, the triumphal arch erected in honour of Titus Vespasian by the Roman Senate and people:—

SENATVS · POPVLVSQVE · ROMANVS

DIVO · TITO · DIVI · VESPASIANI · F.

VESPASIANO · AVGVSTO

“The Roman Senate and People to Divine Titus Vespasian Augustus, Son of Divine Vespasian;” “Divine” being the title usually given to an emperor deceased. It is the most ancient arch of the kind now standing in Rome, is said to be the finest as a work of art, and has been minutely described by many artists. I avail myself of the drawings and descriptions of Giampietro Bellori, Roman antiquarian, who published the fruit of his studies nearly two centuries ago. Within the arch there are two grand panels. In the first, Titus is represented in his chariot with Victory holding a laurel-wreath over his head, while the Republic leads his horses. The procession is continued in the second panel. Here they carry aloft the golden table for the shew-bread, with a cup for drink-offerings, trumpets for the solemn feasts, and the seven-branched golden lamp. A knight mounted on horseback, the horse having its usual trappings, has his robe fastened on his breast with golden clasps. Citizens (*Quirites*) clad in snowy white, crowned with laurel, and carrying laurel in their hands, walk before the imperial chariot in long procession.

¹ *The Jewish War*, VII., 5.

“Præcedentia longè

Agminis officia, et niveos ad fræna quirites.”

The pomp is continued in the frieze around the arch above. There you might have discovered, until lately, a river-god resting on his bier, carried by two men, to represent the Jordan now brought, reluctant, within the borders of the Roman Empire. Next follow Roman priests leading their victims to be sacrificed, the priests being distinguished by their attire.

This recalls the statement of an historian that, on the occasion here commemorated, the Emperors Vespasian and Titus earned a splendid triumph, when a fair city, Jerusalem, hitherto unknown to all mortals, entered into the empire; and that the spectacle insculped on the arch was the three hundred and twentieth triumph counted from the founding of Rome to that time.

Here is a bull crowned with garlands, ready to be sacrificed to Jupiter, and covered with cloths painted for triumph. Soldiers crowned with laurel too, wearing short tunics, and carrying round shields. Soldiers, again, carry banners, inscribed with names of conquered people, and of their chiefs. A *popa*, or servant who assists at sacrifices, leads oxen, and has an axe to kill them. He is naked down to the middle, and his legs are bare from knee to toe. Another *popa* carries a pitcher in his hand, and a dish full of fragrant spices to be burnt with the victims. Such dishes, they tell us, may be seen on the coins of Domitian.¹ So magnificently did the Romans welcome into their gates

¹ Veteres Arcus Augustorum Triumphis insignes, ex Reliquis quæ Romæ adhuc supersunt cum Imaginibus triumphalibus restituti, antiquis nummis notisque. Io. Petri Bellorii illustrati nunc primum per Io. Jacobum de Rubeis æneis typis vulgati. Romæ, MDCXC.

the conquerors of Palestine ; so faithfully has the fulfilment of the Saviour's last sorrowful denunciation been told by the mute marble. The time-worn marble now imperfectly exhibits the pageant, but the artistic restoration of the monument, and classic description of the scene, as given by the antiquarian Bellori almost compensates the defect. Faithful reproductions by photography of the only existing original picture of the inevitable decay of earthly power and pride may minister instruction ; while the consummation of a work promised from the foundation of the world, and the founding of a kingdom that shall have no end, date nearly alike from the event commemorated on this perishing monument of Roman triumph. Then it was that God made the first covenant old, and the Apostle made an abiding record of the inevitable sentence, "Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away." (Heb. viii. 13.)

TOMBS OF THE KINGS.

JEREMIAH VIII. 1-3.

THE prophet Jeremiah, predicting the desolation of the land, proceeds thus: "At that time, saith the Lord, they shall bring out the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, out of their graves: and they shall spread them before the sun, and the moon, and all the host of heaven, whom they have loved, and whom they have served, and after whom they have walked, and whom they have sought, and whom they have worshipped: they shall not be gathered, nor be buried; they shall be for dung upon the face of the earth. And death shall be chosen rather than life by all the residue of them that remain of this evil family, which remain in all the places whither I have driven them, saith the LORD of hosts." (Jer. viii. 1-3.)

The prediction is literal, and has been actually fulfilled. Jerome, who spent a great part of his life in Syria and Palestine, and resided in Bethlehem, or its neighbourhood, for some years, testifies most expressly the fulfilment in his commentary on the place. "We see all that the prophetic discourse predicted actually come to pass in our own time," the fourth

century of the Christian era, "not only at Jerusalem, where they have suffered it from the Chaldees and from the *Romans*, but the whole world over, so that after the tears of those who were once living are dried away, all that the prophets foretold is fulfilled with the bones of the dead. And as they were accustomed, according to an ancient usage, to bury gold, and certain ornaments of both men and women in the sepulchres together with the dead, avarice has broken open the sepulchres, and dug out the dead, exposing them to the light of day. *First, the bones of the kings of Judah*, and then those of their princes; of the priests, too, and of the prophets, and of all the people who had inhabited Jerusalem, were brought out of the tombs, and laid open to view, so to speak, of sun, moon, and stars, that they whom they served after they had forsaken God might look upon them, and see them consumed like ashes in a dunghill. So great is the misery, that if any one of the multitude had escaped, and could come to one of these places, he would prefer death to life, and think the destruction (of his body) to be the remedy of a soul insufferably wretched."

M. Caignart de Saulcy,¹ commissioned some years ago by the French Government, excavated the subterranean place, traditionally known as the Tombs of the Kings, between Jerusalem and Bethlehem; and his minute, full, and formally authenticated narrative not only conveys an affecting illustration of the words of Jèremiah and the note of Jerome, but leaves no reason for doubt that the place once known by name to the Jews, and now distinguished as such by the

¹ *Voyage en Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1865, Tome 1er.

Arabs, is the very catacomb where once the bodies of David and Solomon were laid.

Josephus mentions these tombs, and although his text does not afford any distinct information as to the site, his descriptions were so circumstantially correspondent with what was found there as to be found of great use for guidance to the explorer. He says that John Hyrcanus, high priest and king, broke into the tombs, and robbed them of about three thousand talents of money, buried with the kings. He also relates that one of the Herods attempted to take the treasure which Hyrcanus was supposed to have left; he opened the sepulchre at night, went into it, and found a treasure of golden vessels and jewels, all which he took away. But he had a strong desire to go further in, *even to the vaults where the bodies of David and Solomon lay*, and make a more thorough search. But it was reported that two of his guards were killed by a flame which burst on them as they were attempting to go in, and that he ran out horribly frightened, and afterwards built a propitiatory monument of costly white stone over the mouth of the tomb, to show his reverence.¹ It is not impossible that the lamps carried by the guards before Herod may have caused a gaseous explosion, if the story of the fire be not a mere adorning of the tale; but the *propitiatory monument*² of white marble, built, too, so short a time before Josephus, could not have been a mere invention of this historian, nor of Nicolaus, another historian, who was contemporary with Herod, and agrees with Josephus.

The sepulchre, then, with the white marble monu-

¹ *Antiq. Jud.*, XVI., vii. 1.

² Ἰλαστήριον μνήμα.

ment, was known by Josephus and his contemporaries; and, about sixty years before Josephus, the Apostle Peter told the Jews in Jerusalem that they had the sepulchre of David with them *at that day*. (Acts ii. 29.) The objects were familiar to them all, and these incidents, whether of history or fiction, were associated with the objects.

Not only kings, but members of royal families, "princes," as Jeremiah said, would be buried there, and the burial of Sarah and Leah in the cave with Abraham and Jacob were precedents to be followed in the interment of royal ladies.

M. de Saulcy began his excavations by clearing away the earth which covered the entrance to the tombs, and laid open to view steps of solid rock. Then he went down the steps to the entrance of the "house of burial,"¹ and penetrated into the first grand chamber, clearing his way through the accumulated rubbish of at least two thousand years. With characteristic perseverance he uncovered platform after platform in the heart of the rock, connected by galleries with gently inclined levels, and found each chamber surrounded with *loculi*, or beds for the dead, constructed at right angles with the chamber, each bed to be closed at the foot with a stone, as was the "grave" of Lazarus. In these mortuary cells corpses had, no doubt, been laid in aromatic spices, and covered with costly robes.

Before reaching the inmost burial-places, he found the remains of Romans with incineration, after costly ceremonies; heaps of bones, unburnt, seeming to

¹ ܫܝܚܘܢܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ Acts ii. 29. Syr. Vers.

show how Roman foot-soldiers, most probably during the siege of Jerusalem, had fallen between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The jars, containing human dust, were undoubtedly Roman.

Digging deeper again, he came upon coins of older times; one, for example, of the age of Jaddua the high priest, he that is said to have met Alexander the Great on his approach to Jerusalem. Another that had been stamped soon after the Maccabees. There were also lachrymatories and precious jewels, some of western fashion; others, lying deeper, of Asiatic. Then he found fragments of demolished cornices and pilasters, broken sarcophagi, and, as he believed, remains of the Herodian monument of pure white marble.

But he had not yet discovered the cells which Herod sought, but could not find, being driven back by terror. At length, when almost baffled by seemingly impenetrable rock, one of his associates in search detected a joint in the stonework of yet another inner chamber. This discovery reminded him of a passage in his Greek Josephus which tells of the *narrow entrance*¹ of a tomb. He therefore set at work to remove the masonry, succeeded perfectly, and made his way into the inmost and deepest chamber of the whole cemetery, which became the scene of his chief discovery. There lay a rich carved chest of calcareous stone, too small to receive a human body, and apparently a treasure-chest. It was broken; evidently broken by violence for the sake of the contents. Shattered remains of sarcophagi were on the floor. One of them, however, was

¹ Στοιμιον.

entire, lid and all, and did not seem to have been violated. The lid was not flat, but a slab of marble cut in the shape of a low-pitched roof, which is said by the Arabs to distinguish sarcophagi for females. De Saulcy saw the lid lifted, and laid gently on the floor.

Then he looked down into the coffin, and saw the skeleton of a female, seemingly perfect, for the external air had not reached it until that moment. It was perfect in form, except that the facial bones had sunk into the bowl of the skull. A gentle endeavour to take up what remained of the head, caused the whole cranium to subside into the finest dust. So did all the skeleton. Dust covered the bed of the coffin, but the embroidered borders of the grave-clothes might almost be traced as they originally lay upon the corpse, by thousands of finely twisted threads of gold which remained after the warp and woof of raiment was utterly dissolved by time.

Before opening the sarcophagus, M. de Saulcy had the wisdom to summon witnesses who might see what should be found. They saw all this, and signed a document in presence of himself and the French consul, who signed it also. A copy of this remarkable certificate is given in the appendix to the two volumes of his *Voyage*. Now came the question whose corpse this might have been? There is an inscription outside the coffin, and it had to be deciphered. The copy given by the discoverer appears to be an exact *facsimile*. It is obviously bilingual, and not all written by the same hand. The upper line is Aramaic, and the lower Hebrew. Both lines are strictly equivalent, and mean *Sadon*, or *Saron, Queen*; the ז (*ts*) being

sounded soft.¹ The present writer decides for *Saron*, from the form of the character, and also because he observes that the same name occurs in a sepulchral inscription in Carthage.² The language of the epigraph in Carthage is Latin, but the name is certainly Phœnician :

S A R O N

V A

L X V.

That is to say, *Saron, vixit annos LXV.*

It may have been a Tyrian wife of Solomon whose remains were seen by the learned French commissioner. Leaving many valuable observations and conjectures of the discoverer, we are content to note that the sepulchre he examined at or near Bethlehem, the city of David, although no more than one of the sleeping tenants can be now traced, affords an undeniable confirmation of St. Peter's words, "Men and brethren, let me freely speak unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, *and his sepulchre is with us unto this day.*" For although the remains of David were not in the sarcophagus now described, it is marked with the name of a royal person, and was but one of the many whose bodies were deposited in these tombs of the kings of the house of Judah, near or in Bethlehem, the city of David.

¹ *Voyage en Terre Sainte.*

² Davis, *Ruined cities in Africa*, London, 1862, p. 369.

THE "HOUSE OF PRAYER FOR ALL PEOPLE."

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ISAIAH LVI. 7.

SUCH was not the Temple of Solomon. It had no more than two courts, and however devout Gentiles might be allowed to worship in one of those, as some suppose, there was no court of the Gentiles, as afterwards in Herod's Temple. But the prophet Isaiah, long before Herod, predicted the change in a prophecy concerning the conversion of the heathen. "Also the sons of the stranger, that join themselves to the LORD, to serve him, and to love the name of the LORD, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant; even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer: their burnt offerings and their burnt sacrifices shall be accepted upon mine altar; *for mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people.*" (Isa. lvi. 7.)

On a memorable occasion our Lord went into the court of the Gentiles provided by Herod, drove out the Jews who were profaning the place by selling cattle and exchanging money, and justified His action by referring to the scripture now quoted. "He taught, saying unto them, Is it not written, *My house*

shall be called an house of prayer for all nations? but ye have made it a den of thieves." (Mar. xi. 17.) Gentiles, however, or as Isaiah says, *strangers*, were not permitted to enter the inner courts, and, at that very time, our Lord saw the prohibition written at the entrances by gates in the wall which enclosed those courts. That prohibition would shortly be cancelled by His own death, making atonement for the sins of the whole world; meanwhile the separation between the Israelite and the stranger was more strongly marked than ever by the wall which shut out the Gentiles from assemblage with the Jews; but when that greatest of all events had taken place, St. Paul wrote, "Now, in Christ Jesus, ye who sometime were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ. For he is our peace who hath broken down the middle wall of partition." (Eph. ii. 13, 14.) And the abolition of the enmity by the Gospel of peace was symbolised by the demolition of the material wall and the removal of the written prohibition.

In compliance with a suggestion of St. James, and the elders of the church at Jerusalem, St. Paul was induced to associate with himself four men who had a vow on them, to purify himself with them, and go together with them into the Temple "to signify the accomplishment of the days of purifying, until that an offering should be made for every one of them." (Acts xxi. 26.) The motive of the elders in advising the Apostle to take this course was to show that he walked orderly, and kept the law. Compliance with this advice does appear somewhat at variance with St. Paul's own teaching, and may be regarded as an instance of well meant, but unsuccessful, compromise

in a little matter. On the other hand, it must be remembered that while, as yet, the temple was standing, entire separation from its services was not accomplished.

"The Jews which were in Asia, when they saw him *in the sacred court* (ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ), stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, crying out, Men of Israel, help: this is the man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place; and further, brought Greeks also *into the sacred court* (εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν), and hath polluted *this holy place* (τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τοῦτον). For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus, an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple." (Acts xxi. 27-29.) Every one knows that the introduction of a heathen foreigner into the sacred court would have been a daring desecration, and of such a desecration St. Paul could not be guilty. Now the whole matter can best be understood by help of an inscription a few years ago discovered in Jerusalem.

M. Ganneau, long known as a learned Oriental archæologist, and especially noted as one of the first who saw, and the first who translated, the inscription on the Moabite stone, relates that on the 26th May, 1871, being in a part of Jerusalem less frequently visited by Europeans, he felt inclined to explore the premises of a deserted old Mohammedan college, which he had often heard of, but never seen. Passing through a ruinous doorway, without the thought of finding anything of importance there, his antiquarian eye caught sight of a fine sharp-cut block of very hard stone, built into the wall with other blocks of inferior quality. It lay low in the building, and appeared yet

lower than when at first placed there, inasmuch as the ground had risen in course of time, as it always does rise in such situations. On one part of the face of the stone he observed what seemed to be incised writing, and on looking in closely, he found, just peeping above ground, two Greek letters, ΠΟ. Closer still, after scraping away a little of the soft earth at the surface, he discovered a third letter, making ΣΠΟ, and certainly indicating a Greek word. This impelled him to dig, and very soon, exposing more of the stone, he laid open the ends of at least three lines of a well preserved inscription. At last, with the help of one or two poor Arabs living in the ruins, he laid bare the entire block, nowhere broken, measuring nearly three English feet in length, two feet in breadth, and fifteen and a half inches in thickness.

It was at once evident that the stone had formed part of a building older than the Moslem college, that it lay horizontally in the original building, but had been set up on end to form part of the corner of the gateway. The stone is so hard that a hammer strikes fire on it. The inscription tells where it was originally placed. As soon as the Pasha of Jerusalem heard of it, he caused it to be taken out of the wall, and brought to himself; but before the removal M. Ganneau had managed to obtain a photographic copy of the inscription, which we borrow. In type it may be exhibited as follows, the divisions of words being marked for the convenience of the reader :

ΜΗΘΕΝΑ|ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗ|ΕΙΣΠΟ
 ΠΕΤΕΣΘΑΙ|ΕΝΤΟΣ|ΤΟΥ|ΠΕ
 ΡΙ|ΤΟ|ΙΕΡΟΝ|ΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥ|ΚΑΙ|

ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥ|ΟΣ|Δ|ΑΝ|ΔΗ
 ΦΘΗ|ΕΑΤΤΩΙ|ΑΙΤΙΟΣ|ΕΣ
 ΤΑΙ|ΔΙΑ|ΤΟ|ΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
 ΘΕΙΝ|ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ|

"No stranger born may enter within the circuit of the barrier (τρυφάκτου) and enclosure (περιβόλου) that is around the sacred court (τὸ ἱερόν). And whoever shall be caught there, upon himself be the blame of the death that will consequently follow." Flavius Josephus, describing the enclosures, or courts, of the temple, tells us that in the midst of the outer court, which he describes as very spacious, and surrounded by vast cloisters of an amazing grandeur, and not far within, as you pass from the cloister at the entrance, was the second court, to be reached by a few steps. This was enclosed by a stone wall, for the sake of separation, where there was an inscription forbidding entrance there to foreigners, on pain of death.¹

Within this court for women there was another, *the sacred court*, not accessible by the women (. . . ἐσωτέρω δὲ καὶ ἐκείνου γυναιξίν ἄβατον ἦν τὸ ἱερόν). Still more inward was a *third* enclosure, where only priests might enter, and yet further within was *the temple itself* (ὁ ναὸς), never called *the hieron* (τὸ ἱερόν), which is the sacred court of the Israelites, already specified. Josephus has yet another² description of the courts of the temple built by Herod, from which temple was taken the stelè found by M. Ganneau. "When you went through this first enclosure *to the second sacred court* (ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἱερόν), there was a partition, or *balustrade* (δρύφακτος), made of stone, all round;" and

¹ Joseph., *Antiq.*, XV., xi. 5.

² Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, V., v. 2.
12*

here the same word is used as was given by the Greek Church to an enclosed raised floor, or chancel.¹ The height of the balustrade in the temple was three cubits, and its construction was very elegant. On it stood pillars (στήλαι) raised at equal distances, with inscriptions declaring the law of purity, some in Greek letters, and some in Roman, *that no foreigner might go within the holy place*; for the second sacred place was called *holy* (τὸ γὰρ δεύτερον ἱερόν ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο).

Now the agreement between St. Luke, Josephus, and every word of the inscription on the stelè at Jerusalem is most exact. St. Paul, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles, entered with the Nazarites *into the sacred court* (εἰς τὸ ἱερόν); certainly not into the *temple* (ναὸν). The Jews saw him in the *sacred* place, the *hieron*. They cried out that he had brought Greeks into the *hieron*, and polluted the *hagion*, or *holy* place; both adjectives, sacred and holy, being used for the same court, according to Josephus. They supposed only, for they did not see, that he had brought Trophimus, the Ephesian, into the *hieron*. Thence they dragged him *outside the hieron* (ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ), for he, being an Israelite, was in it rightfully; and then, having hold on him in the first enclosure, just within the cloisters, where Gentiles might lawfully be, forthwith the gates were shut, so that they held him in custody, intending to kill him; according to the letter of the law, that "whosoever should be *caught*, would be to himself cause of the death that would consequently follow." At that critical moment, the chief captain and the soldiers ran down from the

¹ Suicer., *Thesaur. Eccles.* s. v.

castle which overlooked the courts, and rescued him from their fury. Just there, within the closed gates of the temple-buildings, as St. Paul afterwards declared to king Agrippa, the Jews caught him; an expression which recalls the Greek of the inscription, *and set about killing him out of hand* (ἐπειρῶντο διαχειρίσασθαι).¹ (Acts xxvi. 21.)

Thanks to M. Ganneau, as a servant of Providence, we have now a complete enarration of the text. Truly, indeed, did our Lord say to His disciples, "Stone shall not be left upon stone that shall not be demolished" (καταλυθήσεται). (Mat. xxiv. 2.) But *there* in the Moslem college, and not *here* on the site of the holy house, is one of the dismantled stones; nay, there, in the Pasha's palace, bearing witness to the true word of Christ, with confirmation of the faithful record of his servant.

¹ *Revue Archéologique*, Avril et Mai, 1872.

THE MAGI WHO CAME TO WORSHIP JESUS.

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MATTHEW II. 1, 2.

“**W**HEN Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in the days of Herod the king, behold, there came wise men from the East to Jerusalem, saying, Where is he that is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.” Let us answer the following questions :

Whence came these wise men ?

What were they ?

When and why did they come ?

1. St. Matthew tells us that they came to Jerusalem *from the sun-rising* (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν). There can be no doubt that they were Parthians, representing the people of whom Justin says, “Parthians, with whom, as they divide the world with the Romans, is now the empire of the East.”¹ Jerome, too, commenting on the words of Isaiah (Isa. xli. 2), “Who raised up the righteous man from the East?” quotes the opinion of some that the righteous man referred to by the prophet was Cyrus the Persian, who came from the East to Babylon, and so Persians or Parthians are commonly spoken of as coming from the

¹ Just. *Hist.*, XLI. 1.

East. One glance at a map showing the boundary of the Parthian empire in the reign of Augustus, coincident with the course of the Euphrates from the mountains of Armenia to the Persian Gulf, and the eastern shore of that gulf from north to south, shows that the Parthian empire covered all the East, and whoever came from the East must have necessarily come from Parthian territory.

2. The second question is answered in a word by the Greek original. They were *Magi* (μάγοι), and a general understanding of the name as commonly explained would be sufficient, if it were not for reasons that will appear in answering the next question.

3. *At what time, and for what purpose did they come?* They came after the birth of our Lord, and before the death of Herod; which brings the date of their mission within a narrow space of time. The birth of Christ took place, as the margin of our English Bible has it, "in the fourth year before the common account called Anno Domini," making the crucifixion, and close of the evangelic history, four years later than people are generally mindful to consider as the time of the Saviour's birth; thirty-seven years instead of thirty-three. Within the fourth year B.C., or 4707 of the Julian period, we find a remarkable state of things in Rome, in Parthia, and in Jerusalem.

As to Parthia, Professor Rawlinson¹ has thoroughly investigated the state of affairs, and collects exact and most important information. The relations of the two empires were very critical. Romans and Parthians

¹ *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy.*

were mutually jealous. Augustus, too old and too prudent to throw himself into the heat of war, yet too sincerely Roman to make any concession beneath the dignity and honour of the empire, sends his grandson, Caius, a young man full of energy, to watch the state of affairs in the East, to compel Armenia, now subject to Parthia, to submit to the authority of Rome, and to prevent Parthia from taking any part with Armenia against Rome. Parthia, if well governed, would probably be able to repel a Roman army if marched across the Euphrates; but at this time there is not a king capable of marshalling the national forces, or in any way maintaining his dominions in rightful independence. Phraates, now on the throne, but every moment in danger of losing it, murdered his father, and has now sent away his own four sons to Rome to be educated; but the Romans contend that they are hostages, and hold them fast in safe keeping, regardless of their father's wish that one of them, at least, shall return to the Parthian court, and there await the moment of his death, then to be proclaimed king. But Augustus detains the youths, as if they were hostages from an unfriendly state.

The aged king, Phraates, disgraced himself by taking to his bed an Italian slave, sent him as a gift by Augustus. She now boasts herself queen, and longs to see a son of her own, Phraataces, on the throne. To attain this object Phraataces poisons his aged father, even as Phraates poisoned his own father, Orodes, and slaughtered all his brothers. Such is the savage brutality of Parthian sovereigns, but such, also, is the retributive vengeance with which justice overtakes criminals not fit to live. The son of

a parricide becomes a parricide in his turn, proving himself the fittest instrument of retribution.

The Parthian people are consequently overwhelmed with discontent, shame of their kings, and terrific dread of Rome. In Jerusalem and Judea, king Herod, as he is called, madly savage, approaches the end of his life, and he too, by excessive cruelties and mad injustice is filling his subjects with terror and hatred of himself. Judea lies between the threatening empires of East and West, and fears being made the prey of both, as aforesaid often. The young Parthian king lives incestuously with his wretched mother, and to the disgust of his subjects, has her head stamped upon his coins. The great enemy of Parthia in the West longs to attack the Parthians in a ruinous war, and in their helplessness, attach them to his vast empire. Meanwhile, Judea rolls down the hill of ruin under the tyranny of Herod.

Some one true king is now desired with power and will to turn the balance in favour of peace and general security. The populations of all the East, all Parthia, Armenia, Judea, and far more distant regions, are expecting that such a king will arise in Palestine, and these Magi are come to see.

Then with what further intention did they come? They came to seek for him that should be born king of the Jews. They were not mere philosophers, or literary men, or magicians divining from the stars. They were part of the great council of the nation. Sometimes, in questions of difficulty, they were arbiters or judges. More fitly than the Athenian Areopagites, for Parthia was never a republic, they had the prerogative of deposing a king by their own

collective authority, if that became necessary, and could elect and crown another. This is affirmed by Strabo.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was a youth in the house of Joseph the carpenter in Nazareth, Strabo the Greek was writing his *Geographica*; but he had probably finished his travels in the East before the commencement of the Christian era. If so, the visit of the Magi to Judea took place between the travels of Strabo and the composition of his work. The testimony of this writer, therefore, is contemporaneous with that event, and the following extracts convey his views of the Magi after personal observation, with intelligence collected in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

Speaking of diviners, he says that "they were held in such high esteem as to be accounted worthy even to be made kings, ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιούσθαι, inasmuch as they explained divine precepts and admonitions, sometimes by their living discourses, and sometimes in writings which spoke for them after their death, as was said of Tiresias :

Τῷ καὶ τεθνῶτι νόον πόρε Περσεφόνηια

Ὁίῳ πεπνύσθαι τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ αἰσούσι.

'To whom even after death Proserpine gave intellect, that he only might have understanding, while others passed away like shadows.' Such were Amphiareos, and Trophonius, and Orpheus, and Musæus, and once a god among the Getæ; in olden time Zamolxis, a Pythagorean; in our own time Decæneus, who prophesied at Byrebista, and Archaicarus among the Bosporani(?), the Gymnosophists with the Indians, *the Magi with the Persians*, and they who

are called necyomants, lecanomants, and hydromants; Chaldeans with the Assyrians, and with the Romans Etruscan haruspices. Such also were Moses and his successors, who began well, but afterwards degenerated."¹

This association of the Magi with the ministers of religion and of superstition, and with popular instructors and leaders, and their most distinguished disciples, indicates what they were, almost as distinctly as any formal description. But for illustration of St. Matthew's record of the visit from the East, other passages of Strabo are useful. Persia, he says, is inhabited by the Patischores, the Achæmenides, *and the Magi*, of whom the last mentioned devote themselves earnestly to a certain art of living honestly, οὔτοι μὲν οὖν σεμνοῦ τινός εἰσι βίου ζηλωταί.²

In an account of some matters relating to India, Strabo mentions the Gymnosophists, and observes that some say they associate with Indian kings in the same way as *the Magi associate with the kings of Persia*, ὡς τοὺς μάγους τοῖς Πέρσαις.³

But what bears most directly on our present subject, is a statement he quotes from Posidonius that "the Parthians had a twofold council, one part consisting of relatives of the king, and the other of wise men *and Magi*; and the kings were chosen out of both: ὅτι τῶν Παρθυαίων συνέδριον φησιν εἶναι Ποσειδώνιος διττόν, τὸ μὲν συγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ σοφῶν καὶ μάγων, ἐξ ὧν ἀμφοῖν τοὺς βασιλεῖς καθίστασθαι.⁴

Such were the men who came to pay homage to the infant king, and acknowledge him to be the

¹ *Geographica*, XVI., ii. 39.

² *Ibid.*, XV., iii. 1.

³ *Ibid.*, XV., i. 68.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XI., ix. 3.

future sovereign of Parthia. They brought him gold, frankincense, and myrrh, as most precious products of their country. The mystic reason suggested by Jerome and Juvenus, and caught up by preachers in the middle ages, that the gold was brought as tribute to the king, the frankincense for worship to the God, and the myrrh for His burial when crucified, is too far-fetched. His divine nature, His royalty over a heavenly kingdom, and His atonement for the sins of men, were truths unknown to the Magi, and were only known in those days to those who learned them from the Bible.

The Parthian Magi came to Judea when their affairs were in the calamitous condition above described, and they came sharing in the general expectation that a temporal deliverer would come about that time to save the world from its miseries and confusion. The Jews, most of all, expected that such would be the Messiah predicted by the prophets. The Magi sought him that should be born king of the Jews,* intending to worship him, pay him the homage due from Parthia, desiring to have him as their sovereign, and give him the earnest of future tribute. They hoped to receive, in his person, a king of royal blood, not the child of a slave, as Phraataces was, and parricide. It was not until our Lord himself instructed his disciples better, and undeceived the Jews, that they clearly understood that His kingdom was not of this world, and that His servants would not fight for it. And the Magi were not the only persons who desired, and vainly attempted, to make him king.

THE FAME OF JESUS IN SYRIA.

MATTHEW IV. 23, 24.

“**A**ND Jesus went about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease among the people. And his fame went throughout all Syria; and they brought unto him all sick people that were taken with divers diseases and torments, and those that were possessed with devils, and those that were lunatic, and those that had the palsy; and he healed them.”

The statement that our Lord's fame went from Galilee throughout all Syria, and that they brought unto Him sick persons, apparently from beyond Galilee, invites attention; and it is remarkable that a full narrative of communication with Syria, contained in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius,¹ completely tallies with the words of St. Matthew. Eusebius relates that when the Divinity of our Saviour was proclaimed among all men, by reason of the astonishing miracles He wrought, and myriads came to Him from all countries to be healed, a Syrian king, Abgar of Edessa, on the Euphrates, the modern Orfa, renowned among the nations for his valour, found his body wasting away with a grievous and incurable

¹ *Hist. Ec.*, I. 13.

disease, and sent Him by a courier a letter of request to come and heal him. Eusebius had a copy of the letter taken for him from the records which were then kept at Edessa, the capital of his dominions, and his translation into Greek was, until very lately, the only original of many versions. But the late Dr. Cureton found the Syriac original as it had lain in the archives of Edessa, which were transferred thence to Ecbátana in Armenia, and from that place to the Natron monastery in Egypt, but now rests in the British Museum. It reads thus :

“Abgar the Black, sovereign of the country, to Jesus, the good Saviour, who has appeared in the country of Jerusalem : Peace. I have heard about Thee, and about the healing which is wrought by Thy hands, without drugs and roots. For, as it is reported, Thou makest the blind to see, and the lame to walk ; and Thou cleanseest the lepers, and Thou castest out unclean spirits and demons, and Thou healeest those who are tormented with lingering diseases, and Thou raiseest the dead. And when I heard all these things about Thee, I settled in my mind one of two things : either that Thou art God, who hast come down from heaven, and doest these things ; or that Thou art the Son of God, and doest these things. On this account, therefore, I have written to beg of Thee that Thou wouldest weary Thyself to come to me, and heal this disease which I have. (And not only so), for I have also heard that the Jews murmur against Thee, and wish to do Thee harm. But I have a city, small and beautiful, which is sufficient for two.”

There can be no reasonable doubt about the

authenticity of this letter. Eusebius had a copy brought to him as it was taken from the original copy soon after the year 300, authenticated as part of the public records. Moses of Osrohenè, historian of Armenia, found the same document in the "house of records" in the century following; and his translation into Armenian, like that of Eusebius into Greek, doubles the assurance that it is not fictitious. There is a report, gathered hastily from Eusebius, that our Lord sent an answer to Abgarus, promising that after His departure He will send him a disciple, with power to heal him; but the Greek barely supports the idea, and the Armenian contradicts it by the title prefixed to his version, *Answer to Abgar's letter, which the Apostle Thomas wrote to this prince by command of the Saviour*. The same collection of manuscripts contains interesting accounts of events consequent on a visit to the king at Edessa by Thaddæus, one of the Seventy,¹ which there can be no good reason to doubt. The ecclesiastical historians agree in believing Christianity to have been introduced into Edessa about this time. The Curetonian manuscripts contain a statement that Abgar had the Pentateuch and the Gospels read in public by a person appointed to the office of reader; and Gregory Bar Hebraeus, writing in the 13th century, says, on the credit of authors of like antiquity, that messengers were sent from Edessa to Palestine to translate the sacred books, and, yet more particularly, affirms that "the New Testament

¹ The words of the Syriac document, as translated in the *Ante-Nicene Library*, are: Thomas the Apostle, one of the *twelve*, as by an impulse from God, sent Thaddæus, who was himself numbered among the Seventy disciples of Christ. This Thaddæus is therefore considered to be a different person from the Thaddæus of Mark iii. 18.

was translated in the time of Thaddæus, and Abgar, king of Edessa.”¹

The whole subject is discussed at length, and a large body of evidence adduced by the Rev. B. P. Pratten, in the twentieth volume of Clarke's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*; which, together with further study in other sources, makes it plainly apparent that Christianity was introduced into that part of Syria, and thence into the parts of Armenia conterminous, immediately after our Lord's ascension; the Syriac language in a very pure dialect being then spoken in Edessa. These facts being now established, it follows irresistibly that the few words now quoted from the Gospel according to St. Matthew are the commencement of a most important section of ecclesiastical history; and perhaps assist us to understand how the way was opened at Damascus, by the early establishment of a Christian community, for the extraordinary mission of St. Paul, the extensive acceptance of the Gospel intimated in the Acts of the Apostles, and the honourable part taken by the disciples at Antioch of Syria, where they first took the name of Christians, and led the way in missionary enterprise.

¹ Westcott on the *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 207.

POLYGLOT INSCRIPTIONS.

PILATE'S WRITING ON THE CROSS.

WHILE the Canopus Decree and the inscriptions on the Rosetta Stone supply confirmatory illustration of a passage in "the Scripture of Truth," they suggest a reference far beyond. It must be remembered that polyglot writings of the kind become necessary when they are to record matters of more than provincial importance, and will be put forth by imperial authority. They concern "nations, and peoples, and tongues."

Such a writing is the famous Rock Inscription of Behistun, on the western frontier of ancient Media, on the road from Babylon to the southern Ecbátana, a highway lying between the eastern and western provinces of ancient Persia. Three languages, the ancient Persian, the Babylonian, and the Scythic, relate for Darius Hystaspis the story of his reign. Its truly imperial character, thus intimated, is declared early in the first column :

"I am Darius the great king, the king of kings, the king of Persia, the king of the dependent provinces, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenian." (Par. I.) After naming twenty-three kingdoms, of which Persia is the first, but as a member of the empire, ranks only as a province like the

rest, "says Darius the king: These are the provinces which have come to me; by the grace of Ormuzd they have become subject to me; they have brought tribute to me. That which has been said to them by me, both by night and by day, it has been done by them." (Par. 7.)¹

On an alabaster vase found by Mr. Newton, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities in the British Museum, in the ancient mausoleum at Halicarnassus, there are three lines of Cuneiform characters, and a cartouche of Egyptian, all interpreted in the same sentence, "Xerxes the great king," transliterated thus:

1. Persian: ICH-SHAYAR-SHA NaQa WaZARKa.
2. Median: IKSIRSA (Ko) IRSARRA.
3. Assyrian: KHISIARSA SAR RABU.
4. Egyptian: KHASHAIAARSHA PERAPAA.²

A predecessor of Mausolus on the throne of Halicarnassus had probably received the vase as a gift from Xerxes; and when the widow of Mausolus had taken his ashes from the cinerary urn, and, as is related of her, put it into water, and consumed it by successive draughts, she erected the cenotaph to be, as it were, a magnificent temple in his memory, and there deposited the most precious objects he had left in her possession; this vase remained, too simple in appearance to attract the cupidity of the barbarians who rifled the mausoleum of the rest. The lines of Cuneiform are,

¹ Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, Vol. II., p. 490.

² *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae*, by C. T. Newton, M.A., keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, assisted by R. P. Pullan, F.R.I.B.A., 1863, Vol. II., p. 667.

severally, Persian, Median, and Assyrian. The cartouche tells that Egypt was, nominally at least, a province of his empire.

So, as we have seen, the Egyptian priests at Memphis, wrote the praises of their benefactor, Ptolemy, in sacred, enchorial, and Greek characters, with corresponding diversity of language; and so the priests assembled at Canopus recorded the praises of Ptolemy Epiphanes with the sacred language used by themselves, the language of the people, and also the language of their conquerors.

Not to multiply examples of the kind, it may be sufficient to observe in these the same intention to recognise the widely extended sovereignty of the monarchs in whose memory they are engraven. Now considering how the Persian Magi had openly acknowledged the title to sovereignty in the infant Jesus; how the Armenian king Abgarus afterwards did the same; how the people rapturously acknowledged his royalty, and (with a reason the Egyptians had not for their Euergetes and Epiphanes) his Godhead also; and how the Pharisees, offended at their acclamation, made use of it to aggravate their accusation of sedition,—they not only betrayed their envy, but gave wider publication to the fact. Pilate knew it all. He had received with apparent assent our Lord's own declaration that he was indeed a king, and would come again in the clouds of heaven, seated at the right hand of power. Accordingly he wrote the title that he would have affixed to the cross, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." The Pharisees presumed to demand of the Roman governor the substitution of another inscription which should merely

intimate that the saying that he was king of the Jews was the offence of a sedition attempted against Cæsar; the offence for which he died a shameful death. But Pilate, otherwise vacillating though he was, stood on this point firm. He simply replied that what he had written he *had* written; he caused this implied confession that he was, at least, as great a king as a Darius, or a Xerxes, or a Ptolemy, that he had sovereignty over the East and the West, and that a representative of the Roman conquerors of East and West acknowledged him for such;—this confession he caused to be written in Hebrew, and Greek, and Latin, just as at Memphis they wrote in the hieratic, the demotic, and the Greek languages, and as it was afterwards written with higher authority by St. John, that He was indeed the great king, *King of kings and Lord of lords*.

Not content with this, and perhaps again writing under a superior impulse, he did not register the crucifixion of the Nazarene as if he were but one of three common malefactors, but so reported it to the emperor that this clear confession of our Lord's vast sovereignty should be placed among the archives of the Roman empire. We have not, as yet, any literal vestige of this act of Pilate's among the ruins on the Palatine or the Quirinal mount, but we have something which approaches to a certificate that such a record did exist, in the uncontradicted statements of two eminent apologists.

Justin, philosopher and martyr, wrote a long and eloquent apology about the year 139, addressed to the emperor Antoninus Pius, and the senate and people of Rome, in which he says, *That all these things took*

place, you may learn from the acts that were recorded in the time of Pontius Pilate: καὶ ταῦτα ὅτι γέγονε, δύνασθε μαθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων.¹ And further on in the same apology, after reciting a prediction of Isaiah in relation to our Saviour's miracles, he again refers Antoninus to the evidence of the Roman governor, or more correctly speaking, of those public acts which the governor could not have suppressed, even if he would: *And that he did these things you may learn from the acts which were recorded in the time of Pontius Pilate: ὅτι τε ταῦτα ἐποίησεν, ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου γενομένων ἄκτων μαθεῖν δύνασθε.*²

About the year 200, Tertullian, being a presbyter of the church at Carthage, and son of a Roman centurion who served under the Roman proconsul in that city, addressed an apologetic discourse to the chiefs of the Roman empire. Writing in his own style of bold and rough sincerity, the African presbyter follows the Evangelists. He recounts the substance of their narratives of our Lord's suffering, death, and resurrection, and His commanding the disciples to preach the Gospel to the world, and adds: *Pilate, he himself being in his conscience a Christian, then reported to Tiberius Cæsar all these things concerning Christ. But even the Cæsars would have believed in Christ, either if the Cæsars were not wedded to the world, or if, being Christians, they could be also Cæsars.* *Ea omnia super Christo Pilatus, et ipse jam pro sua conscientia Christianus, Cæsari tum Tiberio nunciavit. Sed et Cæsares credidissent super Christo, si aut Cæsares non essent*

¹ *Just. Mart. Apol., l., 35.*

² *Ut supra, 48.*

sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares.¹

And now I cannot refrain from giving utterance to the thought that when the repentant malefactor at the crucifixion saw that imperial superscription, and was constrained to contrast with their own guilt the innocence of Him whom his companion, with the rulers and the soldiers, was reviling, he may at the same time have believed in His universal royalty as therein set forth, and so hailed Him as the long expected king whose dominion was to be established from the rising to the setting of the sun, and confidently cried, "JESUS, LORD! Remember *me* when thou comest into *thy* KINGDOM." At the same time the thief saw, as Pilate could not see, in what sense his Lord's kingdom was not of this world.

¹ *Tertulliani Apologet. adv. Gentes, Cap. xxi.*

CARMEN CHRISTO QUASI DEO.

ALTHOUGH the date of the fourth Gospel be not certainly known, it is generally agreed that it could not have been written until very near the end of the first century. One could not affirm that it was written so late as the year 100, after St. John had returned from Patmos and taken up his abode, for the last time, in Ephesus. Yet this is not improbable. It is, however, certain that the distinctive mission of "the disciple whom Jesus loved" was to proclaim His Godhead, by presenting such a narrative of His life, ministry, and ascension, and by so discoursing on the evidences of His divine nature, as to declare beyond all his fellows "the testimony of Jesus Christ." (Rev. i. 2.)

Now it is observable that the last years of this Apostle's life fell in the reign of Trajan, that he is said to have borne his last and greatest testimony at this time, in the Gospel which bears his name, and was written in Ephesus or the neighbourhood; and that a Roman proconsul, resident in Bithynia, a neighbouring province, bore witness, a very few years later (A.D. 107), to the prominence then given by the Bithynian Christians to the same great doctrine. It would thus appear from the Gospel, and from the testimony of Pliny, as well as from the Apocalypse, that the last decade, counting back from 107, was

distinguished in that part of the Christian church by a great exaltation of Christ in the faith and worship of His people. The letter from Pliny the younger, written to the Emperor Trajan, has so purely monumental a character, in relation to the primitive Christian faith, that it must necessarily be noted here.

In the exercise of his functions as proconsul, Pliny took part in a ruthless persecution of the Christians. Like others, he treated their faith as a state offence, and considered them as a people existing quite beyond the range of mercy, or even of common justice. Yet there were many reasons why he should observe certain judicial forms. Perhaps weary of going through those forms incessantly, and overwhelmed with the multitude of cases poured into his hands by the informers, he wrote to Trajan for instructions how to proceed. This memorable epistle contains some important passages. It had been his practice to *punish* every one reported to him as a Christian, and proved to be such, and to *kill* every one who, being convicted, refused to offer sacrifices, with wine and frankincense, to the images of the gods, and to the image of Trajan, which was also set before him. The Christians were all required to call upon the gods, make supplication before the emperor's image, and revile Christ.

When questioned as to their religion and practices, the confessors all answered to the same effect, that the whole sum of their fault or error had been no more than that they were accustomed to hold their meetings before sun-rise on a stated day, and *recite together, responsively, a hymn to Christ, as God* (car-

menque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem), binding themselves by a solemn oath not to commit any crime, such as theft, robbery, adultery, promise-breaking, or refusal to return a pledge. Pliny, not yet satisfied, or not choosing to appear so, caused two young women, called *ministræ*, or deaconesses, to be put to the torture, but no torment could force them to any denial or equivocation. Again they were urged to worship Trajan and the gods, but nothing moved them. So the Roman governor of Pontus and Bithynia registered the fact that the Christians persisted in honouring the Son, even as they honoured the Father, and chanted their antiphone to Christ as unto God. We also learn from him how, in obedience to a divine command, they taught and admonished one another, and made melody in their hearts unto the Lord, "in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs." (Eph. v. 19; Col. iii. 16.) This instruction was accompanied with an injunction to "give thanks unto God and the Father in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."

It is the opinion of many that a passage from one of the earliest compositions of the kind is quoted by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Ephesians. (Eph. v. 14.) They translate διὸ λέγει by "wherefore *it* saith," meaning the hymn; and write it thus:

Ἐγείρε ὁ καθεύδων,
 κ' ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
 κ' ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ χριστός.

*Awake thou that sleepest,
 and arise from the dead,
 and Christ shall give thee light.*

The most ancient Christian hymns extant prove that this was done, for belief in the divinity of Christ was essential to their faith. The hymns to which I now refer are to be found at the close of the *Pædagogus* of Clement of Alexandria, who flourished under the Emperors Severus, Antoninus, and Caracalla, from the year 196 to 220, bringing down this testimony to the faith of Christians, and to their manner of confessing that faith, at least a century later than Pliny, and perhaps 120 years after St. John. The following is evidence in confirmation of Pliny,¹ from Clement.²

With a dedicatory hymn Clement presents his work to the *Pædagogus*, to God manifest in His incarnate Son, the Conductor and Teacher of mankind, the all-wise Word from God proceeding consentient, and with Him present, Creator and Ruler of the world. The hymn preceding it is rather longer, and abounds in imagery illustrative of the mediatorial government. The following verses are expressly addressed to Christ as God :

<i>Βασιλεῦ ἁγίων,</i>	O king of saints,
<i>λόγε πανδαμάτωρ</i>	thou all-subduing Word
<i>πατρὸς ὑψίστου,</i>	of the most high Father,
<i>σοφίας πρῦτανι,</i>	thou Lord of wisdom,
<i>στήριγμα πόνων</i>	thou support in toils
<i>αἰωνοχάρες,</i>	ever gracious,
<i>βροτέας γενεᾶς,</i>	of the race of men,
<i>σῶτερ Ἰησοῦ.</i>	Jesus the Saviour.
.

¹ C. Plinii, *Caecil. Epistolarum*, X., 97.

Clem. Alex., *Pæd.*, Lib. III., cap. xii., 101.

ὁδὸς οὐρανία,	Heavenly way,
λόγος ἀέναος,	ever-during Word,
φῶς αἰῖδιον,	light eternal,
ἐλέους πηγῇ,	fountain of mercy,
ῥεκτῆρ ἀρετῆς,	in virtue strong,
σεμνὴ βιοτῇ	life revered
θεὸν ὑμνοῦντων, Χριστὲ	of them who hymn thee
Ἰησοῦ.	God, Christ Jesus.

· · ·	· · ·
αἶνους ἀφελείς,	Simple praises,
ὑμνοὺς ἀτρεκέις,	sincere hymns,
βασιλεῖ Χριστῶ,	to Christ the King,
μισθοὺς ὀσίους	offerings pure
ζωῆς διδαχῆς,	of lively doctrine
μέλπωμεν ὁμοῦ,	let us chant together,
μέλπωμεν ἀπλῶς,	with simplicity let us
	praise
παῖδα κρατερόν·	the mighty child ;
χορὸς εἰρήνης,	the band of peace,
οἱ χριστόγονοι,	we sons of Christ,
λαὸς σώφρων,	people of sober mind,
ψάλλωμεν ὁμοῦ θεὸν	let us together praise the
εἰρήνης.	God of peace.

Flowing spontaneously, as it were, from the lips of Christian worshippers, rather than proceeding from the pen of any author who could now be named, and very early in Christian antiquity, came the first sentence of an imperishable doxology: *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; ascribing to the Son equal Godhead with the other persons

of the ever-blessed Trinity. Then an emphatical response was added: *for ever and ever*; and this whole congregations made their own, with a sublime AMEN. The poverty of sacred literature in the earlier centuries, beyond what was called forth in the form of apologetic defences of Christianity and epistolary communications between individuals and churches, makes it difficult to collect examples of hymnody that would more directly answer to the account of Pliny; but such remains as are extant most abundantly prove that our Lord Jesus Christ was worshipped as God: and after the great councils of Nicæa and Constantinople, the Christian poets gave most free utterance to fervent adoration. A large volume might be compiled from writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, to show how Christians might seem to emulate the angels of God (Heb. i. 6) in honouring the Son, even as they honoured the Father. Their utterances enriched the early liturgies. Perhaps Gregory Nazianzen stands first. I cannot hope to do him justice by any effort at poetical translation, and it would not be easy to select any one that might be pronounced the best, but my eye falls on a few lines which I would fain describe.

He writes a Hymn to Christ, "Glorious word of the eternal Father, uttering His vast mind, more excellent than any speech; Light of unmingled light; One-Begotten; Image of the Immortal Father; most certain Seal; shining as bright as that great Spirit; filling eternity; whose praise all celebrate; Giver of all wealth; enthroned high in heaven; almighty Source of mind; Bringer of life; Ruler of all that are, and all that shall be, for by Him all subsist; by Him

were laid the foundations of the world, and all things are committed to His care.”¹ Here we may pause, bearing in mind that the first candid report of Christianity given by a heathen presents the one cardinal truth of our holy religion, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself.

¹ Greg. Naz., *Carmina Varia.*, Carm. LV., Edit. Colon. MDCLXXX.

PRIMEVAL FAITH.

REVELATION.

UNWRITTEN revelation is as old as the world. No sooner were our first parents created, than they were instructed in their duty to God and to each other. They could understand the instruction they received, and by direct communion with their Creator, gained certain knowledge of His existence and His attributes, and were capable of rendering perfect obedience. A written revelation was not necessary in that state of innocence; and even after the Fall, it pleased God to communicate His will to some chosen patriarchs, but such communications were infrequent and incomplete. Between the Fall and the Deluge, men did not willingly remember precepts they had no inclination to fulfil; much was inevitably forgotten, and much was wilfully put out of mind. It is not known that even the most highly favoured of the antediluvian patriarchs left any written memorial of his knowledge or belief, and the few stray writings purporting to be such are too ridiculously absurd to be mentioned.

Noah and his household could scarcely have produced any considerable fragment of historical writings, except, perhaps, a few notes of the names and ages of Noah's ancestors; but other memorials, if any had

existed, but of which there is no authentic trace beyond what is preserved in a few verses of the book of Genesis, were blotted out. The primeval faith of Adam and his earlier descendants, refreshed sometimes by repeated revelation, and preserved by Noah, does not seem to have been preserved by Noah's children ; and the ark, while it became the cradle of a second world, did not produce much, that we can find, besides the corrupt traditions of their latest ancestors. Noah was a righteous man, but not a prophet, and certainly not infallible. He worshipped the one true and only God, but left nothing to indicate that he was inspired, nothing that could be taken into the canon of Holy Scripture. As for oral tradition of the truth, his family could not be trusted, nor does it appear to have been the will of God that His truth should ever be entrusted to the unfaithful memory of men. It is now matter of indisputable fact that the most ancient Chaldean writings, proceeding from the family of Shem, and probably written within his life-time, contain nothing more in the way of religion than the mythology of their forefathers, and represent the very sin for which the world was drowned. Written revelation there was none, and it is well that there was no pretence of any, there not being any person of the eight saved who could produce credentials of a mission to instruct mankind. Prophets when sent from God in after ages brought their credentials with them. There were a few historic memories ; but no code of law, nor any authentic summary of faith.

After perusing the oldest remains, we think that we can almost see the men that were scattered abroad

from the City of Confusion, as they migrated into the lands of their dispersion. They write down their current fables, but therewith mingle records of the cities that were built, and whose foundations are laid open by the spade of the excavator; and they make notes of institutions that afterwards become historic, and these are the broken channels through which we have to pass when searching for vestiges of the primeval faith. The wonder is not that we find so little that can be recognised as such, but that we ascertain so much. Moreover, this kind of evidence, being given unawares, is all the more valuable on that account. It consists of what these men said of themselves, telling in their own way just what the historian of the Pentateuch prepared the world to hear, yet it never could have expected to hear in such a way. It would have been perplexing to read of children of Babel-builders, more enlightened than their fathers had either time or means to be, more God-fearing than the men whose speech the Lord confounded.

Hence, too, it comes to pass that a chief god of Babylonians, Egyptians, or Indians is immeasurably inferior in dignity, and unapproachably different in nature, from the one God whose adorable Name has been cherished by *some*, along the whole track of time, through the imperishable lineage of Seth, and is held most sacred by a branch of it to this very hour. Nay, vestiges of primeval faith have been almost everywhere preserved, however much distorted by the lapses and perversions of human tradition. In ancient Egypt there survived an erratic semblance of immortality; in Assyria the confused imagery of a heaven and a hell; everywhere the confession of a

Godhead, with some kind of priesthood and of sacrifice. On every shore were cast the fragments of a universal wreck, and they are such fragments as powerfully suggest how precious must have been the mass that perished. Even the mockery of those misshapen images which are dimly seen amidst the gloom of ancient heathenism, shows a persuasion everywhere lingering that there must exist somewhere the substance of a worthier object of holy fear and filial reliance. All this answers to the statement of an inspired writer, that God made man upright, but he sought out many inventions; and of another, that they changed the truth of God into a lie, and served the creature more than the Creator.

Hence we learn the direction that our studies ought to take: they must not begin among the archaic tablets, but must finish there. We must find our way upwards towards times when the primeval faith was not quite forgotten, and when the dim perceptions of men that lived twenty-five centuries ago were less dark than they afterwards became, and the false systems which they framed were less extravagant. There is, indeed, a certain simplicity of statement, sometimes approaching towards the majesty of truth, which entices one-sided readers of antiquity to fancy that they can detect the beginnings of the religion of the Old Testament. But if they expect to find that Moses and the prophets did no more than elaborate a better ordered system out of the traditions they received, it will be well for them to prepare for failure in the search. Such pains cannot but be vain; and any theory constructed thereupon with great labour, in the present generation, will require no effort for

its demolition in the next. Nothing less than a revelation from heaven could have given the first elements of divine truth, or imparted a code of law and scheme of doctrine sufficient for the guidance, the happiness, and the moral elevation of mankind. The records we have collected serve to confirm the statements of Holy Scripture, but the papers now to follow might show to any one who fancies otherwise that they contain nothing out of which another Bible could be compiled.

THE
SUPREMACY AND UNITY OF GOD.

ALTHOUGH the Egyptian mythology became a maze of intolerable confusion, there does appear in the Hieratic writings a frequent recognition of the sublimest truths : chiefly, the existence of one God supreme, if not absolutely single. On close examination this truth is traced most clearly in the more ancient documents ; but I notice one of the latest first. It was propounded very emphatically by Jamblicus, of Chalcis, in his treatise concerning mysteries. Jamblicus was contemporaneous with Constantine the Great, and endeavoured to explain the Egyptian mysteries in the language of Greek philosophers. After acknowledging the multitude and the inconsistency of opinions which had been maintained in Egypt from remotest antiquity down to his own time, he wrote as follows :

“ Before all things that now exist ; before the beginning of all, and before the first god and the first king, *there is one God*, immutable, abiding in his own singleness and unity, and there is nothing, whether intellectual or not, to be confounded with Him. And this God abides the exemplar of the self-begetting, self-begotten, only Father and really good. He is that which is first and greatest. Fountain of all

things, and foundation of the first intelligible ideas that ever were. Also from that One, the self-sufficient God made Himself shine forth; wherefore He is father of Himself, and of Himself sufficient, for He is the beginning, and God of gods. Unity from Him that is one, pro-essential, and beginning of being, for from Him proceeds *possibility of being* (οὐσιότης), and *beginning of being* (καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς οὐσίας). Wherefore He is proclaimed *the source of mind* (νοητάρχης). Therefore these are the most ancient beginnings of all, which Hermes (Thoth, god of wisdom) places over the ethereal, empyreal, and heavenly gods.”¹ To our conceptions the one God, the One before the first god and king, could be none other than the God of divine revelation. The other first god and king, and the multitude of gods and demi-gods that follow, were inventions which made up that maze. Perhaps Jamblicus would not have interpreted his own religion so confidently, if he had not learned how to read the Hermetic writings under the light of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, then so well known in Egypt; but lest this consideration should detract too much from the credit of his testimony, we will refer to a few lines from the 17th chapter of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, as it is repeated on three sarcophagi of the eleventh dynasty (B.C. 2240-2220), and published and annotated by Professor Lepsius of Berlin.

“(1) I am Tum, a being that am as *one*. (2) I am Ra in this first dominion. (3) I am the great god existing of himself, the maker of his name, the lord

¹ Jamblici Chalcedensis, *De Mysteriis Liber*, Oxon., 1678, Sect. VIII., Cap. 2.

of the whole circle of gods, whom none of the gods resist. (4) I was yesterday, I know the morning. (5) There was prepared a battle-field of the gods, as I said. (6) I know the name of every great god, who the same is. (7) I am that great Bennu of Heliopolis. (8) I am Chem in his manifestation, on whose head are set both feathers. (9) I am come to my home."

1. A papyrus in the Museum at Turin contains the *Book of the Dead*, much enlarged, and now accepted as the standard text after very great enlargement during many ages, and explanatory of the oldest text now quoted. The *first* line is enlarged thus, "I am Tum, as a being that am one (*eines*, *év*), as the primal water." Dr. Lepsius, whom I now quote, recognises an allusion to the *deep*, *abyss*, תהום of Genesis, observing, however, that the allusion is not found in the oldest text, but crept into the later text. There is another remarkable reading in a papyrus now in Paris, which, instead of the words, "I am as one," gives "who has made the heaven, the creator of things, as God ruling chaos (*nun*)," where the manifest allusion to the history of the creation in Genesis is extremely significant.

2. The "first dominion of Ra," which is the name assumed by Ra, whose visible image is the sun, is the dominion he gains after subduing the rebellious powers of confusion, or chaos, mentioned in the note above. The Turin text on this line is extremely mystic, but is explained to show that it consists of an interpolated story of such a battle with eight rebellious demons at Hermopolis; a recent adaptation, it might be, of the tradition of the fallen angels.

3. The Turin paraphrase is, "I am the great god existing of himself, that is to say, the water, the primal water, the father of the gods." The same expositor substitutes for the *name* of Ra his *members*, the gods, that is to say, to whom he communicates his name; and his unconquerable majesty is represented by the glorious disk of the sun, whose glory no power can subdue.

4. "I was yesterday, and I know the morning," however mystically explained by later expositors, can only mean, says Lepsius, "I was ever (*von je*) in the past, and I know for ever the future."¹

5. What is meant by the battle-field will be explained presently, as will the lines that follow.

That the reader may understand some further quotations from the same source, it is necessary to give some account of the transformations of the god Ra. In the teaching of the old Egyptian priests the pure and upright man was of a superior nature, at once a person having an existence of his own, and the most high god himself, who, for his part, voluntarily assumed the existence and form of individual man by the transubstantiation of one single god into the several persons of an unlimited number of such men, Tum complete in each, with whose death he returns again into his own existence. All righteous men, as they all in general descend from God, so are they also his members; or, rather, they are his several names; or, in other words, they are his several aspects, or forms of his appearance, now seen in this world as separate existences; but in the world to come, without giving

¹ *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs nach Sarkophagen des altägyptischen Reichs im berliner Museum*, herausgegeben von R. Lepsius, Berlin, 1867.

up their individuality, will then, equally be god himself again. The most high god in this world of bodies is Ra, originally Tum, visibly the sun, in the world of spirits Osiris. But as after every earthly manifestation a spiritual one is borrowed, so is also Ra, while the sun shines, a visible or earthly manifestation of Osiris. Osiris is the soul of Ra; he wanders through this world as Ra, now daily changing his name and form of existence, until, every evening, he reaches his own home on yonder side, where he bears rule as Osiris, changing again his name and form. There he bears rule all night as Osiris, as here all day he bore rule as Ra. Next morning he begets himself again, the Ra while the morning-star is paling, and by sunrise, in his rejuvenated form, a youth, he steps into the solar disk as Horus, or Horus-Ra, mounts to the zenith hailed with the salutations of mankind, as he pursues the bright career, droops towards the west, touches the horizon, enters the gate of death, encounters the fiendish demons, conquers them, takes the name of Osiris, reigns in the nether world until the dawn of day, when Horus is again begotten. Horus-Ra resumes his dazzling course, Ra is rowed over the azure sea of space by rejoicing gods: his members too, the pure and upright men who, since his departure yesternight, heaved their last breath, are there waiting to enter Kar-neter with him, do battle with demons, conquer through the power of Osiris, whose name they borrow, and pursue their way by methods appointed, until they reach lofty stations in the land of the blessed.

Much more might be said about this *pantheus* Tum, for that seems to be the original and abiding name,

yet seldom used, but rather whispered in privacy, and his praises are to be found in hymns,¹ but most that is in them is new, and would be extraneous to our present subject.

There is, however, one hymn of extraordinary interest, containing much that is directly relevant. It is extant in two select papyri published by the Trustees of the British Museum, and extensively translated, the version before me being that of the Rev. Canon Cook.² The author is said to be an Egyptian named Enna, who wrote other works in the reign of Rameses II., and therefore was contemporaneous with Moses, and his views of Godhead could not be strange to the Egyptians of his time. The hymn is addressed to the Nile, or rather to the Nile-god, who is called Num, but, according to custom, takes also the names of Ammon and Ptah. But the river-god is adored under his own title, and what is most remarkable, is in part of the hymn addressed in a peculiar style, until the poet relapses into the manner of a mere Egyptian. It seems as if the Nile-god were invested with attributes not shared by any other, and the portion now to be quoted reads as if it contained an article of the primeval faith. Of the fourteen stanzas, there are at least four which appear to present a shadow of the worship offered to the true God before the Egyptian mythology was framed :

IV. "Bringer of food! Great Lord of provisions!
 Creator of all good things!
 Lord of terrors and of choicest joys!

¹ *Records of the Past*, Vol. II., p. 127, first edition, has a hymn to Amen-Ra.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 105.

All are combined in him.

He produceth grass for the oxen ;

Providing victims for every god.

The choice incense is that which he supplies.

Lord in both regions,

He filleth the granaries, enricheth the store-
houses,

He careth for the state of the poor.

V. He causeth growth to fulfil all desires,

He never wearies of it.

He maketh his might a buckler.

He is not graven in marble,

As an image bearing the double crown.

He is not beheld :

He hath neither ministrants nor offerings :

He is not adored in sanctuaries :

His abode is not known :

No shrine is found with painted figures.

VI. *There is no building that can contain him !*

There is no counsellor in thy heart !

Thy youth delight in thee, thy children

Thou directest them as king.

Thy law is established in the whole land,

In the presence of thy servants in the north :

Every eye is satisfied with him :

He careth for the abundance of his blessings.

VII. The inundation comes, (then) cometh rejoicing ;

Every heart exulteth :

The tooth of the crocodiles, the children of Neith,

(Even) the circle of the gods who are counted

with thee.

Doth not its outburst water the fields,

Overcoming mortals with joy :

Watering one to produce another(?)
There is none who worketh with him ;
He produces food without the aid of Neith.
 Mortals he causes to rejoice."

Now if this hymn was written in the time of Rameses II., it is not unlikely that the Egyptian magicians were singing it when, under the reign of Menephtah, Moses and Aaron came back to Egypt. They were messengers of *the* LORD, God of the Hebrews, and their commission ran thus: "Thou shalt say unto him: *The* LORD, God of the Hebrews, hath sent me unto thee, saying, Let my people go, that they may serve me in the wilderness: and behold, hitherto thou wouldest not hear. Thus saith the Lord, In this thou shalt know that I am the Lord: Behold, I will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters that are in the river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the fish that is in the river shall die, and the river shall stink; and the Egyptians shall lothe to drink of the water of the river." (Ex. vii. 16-18.) And this was done. The fish were all dead, and the river stank. The praises due to the God of the Hebrews had been given to the god of the river, but this plague came in spite of them; and perhaps, while the Egyptians were digging in vain for water, and sickening of that which they were forced to drink, they might bethink themselves of two or three lines of another stanza (IX.):

"When he willeth, he goeth forth from his mystic fane.
 Thy wrath is destruction of fishes,
 Then men implore thee for the waters of the
 season,"

and hear with dismay that their adoration had been misplaced, and their praises ought to have been rendered to *the* LORD. But now began the manifestations of the true and only God which could not be possibly forgotten, nor fail to introduce the knowledge afterwards professed by Jamblicus.

Although the unity of the Godhead was taught esoterically, and the doctrine was produced by such men as Jamblicus in defence of their religion, after the Old and New Testament Scriptures were known in the world by millions who were neither Jews nor Christians, and the existence of one God, Father of gods and men, had been for many ages familiar to both Greeks and Latins, and was taught more distinctly by the Stoics,—polytheism, and nothing better, was known to the Egyptians in general, whether in earlier or later times: and even Tum, the very first divine name in the oldest documents, was not confined to the being self-begotten and supreme in his original existence, but exchanged for another and more usual name, Ra; and Ra, maker of this name, communicated it to others, while those other gods yet bear their own names, and these names again are mysteriously exchanged and endlessly multiplied.

But it did not please the Lord to give Moses any name to be published as his own in Egypt. "God said unto Moses, *I am that I am*. And he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, *I am* hath sent me unto you." Perhaps this does bear some resemblance to a form of speech which I remember to have met with somewhere in these translations, but cannot quote it now. Even so, it is not a name, but an affirmation only, which neither names nor

describes. "And God said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel: The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you: this is my name for ever, and this is my *memorial* unto all generations." (Ex. iii. 14, 15.) To all generations it is indeed a memorial of the faithfulness of the God of Abraham, but it was not known in Egypt, it was not one of the innumerable names of Egypt. It was not framed after their manner. It had no meaning in their language. It was a memorial belonging to a distant history, and Pharaoh said accordingly, "I know not the Lord." In truth, there was no name in Egypt, nor could any name be spoken there that would to the perverted mind of the people have conveyed any other idea than that of one god out of a multitude. The primeval truth was lost. It was restored, however, to the Hebrews, when Moses received the revelation on Mount Sinai, and proclaimed, "Hear, O Israel! *the* LORD our God is one Lord."

Diligent search has been made in the most ancient writings known in the heathen world as sacred, for traces of pure monotheism, as distinguishable from philosophic pantheism, but without any reliable success. Hymns in the Vedas of India, and sentences of the oldest Chinese kings, contain sayings which, when extracted and read separately, certainly appear to assert the existence of a supreme, self-existent, and only God. But the context, it is said on the best authorities, generally qualifies the texts quoted, or other texts of equal authenticity contradict them. The student remains unsatisfied. He has now to

determine whether those rare and imperfect glimpses of the truth were caught from primeval revelation, and indicate a half-recovered memory, fading and soon to die away; or whether they were philosophical conclusions of polytheists dissatisfied with their own mythology, and seeking to exalt one of their great gods high enough to maintain subordination and good fellowship among the inferior spirits.¹

As yet we cannot hear of any Assyrian monument of equal age and equally certain origin with the so-called history of Izdubar, that affords further information on the subject. As yet we do not know of any material relic of the time before the Deluge, or having obvious relation to that time, that evidences belief in the existence of the one true God, Creator of heaven and earth, the God who revealed Himself to man while yet in paradise, and thenceforth made Himself known to his descendants from age to age. It is a fact which cannot be controverted that in all the Assyrian inscriptions which have come to light, there is no trace whatever of true monotheism. The idea of one only God was lost. Is it not, then, a reasonable conclusion that polytheism was the root and substance of the manifold sins which brought down the Deluge on the world; and that the survivors of the Deluge, guilty of the same offence, could only, in their ignorance, describe that visitation of God's displeasure as the united work of the many gods whom their imagination had created? They conceived a god, Hea, for example, being at the head of the pantheon at one time, and Vul, or some one

¹ Hardwick, in his *Christ and other Masters* (Cambridge, 1858), II., 93; III., 46, evidently arrives at a similar conclusion.

else, at another, in turn exerting some sort of supremacy, like the temporary president of a republic; but beyond that concession to the necessity of order the men of Nineveh could never go.

Yet when Noah came out of the ark, and with his family offered sacrifice to God, and received the sign of a perpetual covenant, much primeval truth must have been remembered, and he, at least, must have had a knowledge of the Divine unity. It could not then have been forgotten that God was the Creator, and however much obscured during the time that elapsed between the Deluge and the dispersion from Babel, some would continue in His worship. The Chaldeans might utterly forget, but universal forgetfulness would be impossible.

Therefore, turning away from the polytheism of Chaldea, Babylonia, and Assyria, we search again for some vestiges of belief in one God, Creator of the world, in the earlier mythology of Egypt; and have already quoted a passage of the *Book of the Dead*, where the almost forgotten god Tum is made to speak of himself as the self-existent God, as it is written on the sarcophagus of Men-tu-hotep, a king of the eleventh dynasty, in the twenty-third century before Christ. This is enlarged in the Turin manuscript of Professor Lepsius, where it is written and explained as follows: "I am the great god, self-existing, that is to say, the water, the divine primeval water, the father of the gods." This is undoubtedly an addition to the earlier text, but it does not follow that the tradition of primal waters, *Urgewässer*, as Lepsius renders it, did not exist when the earlier text was written: for that it did exist long before the Turin

papyrus was written in the twenty-sixth dynasty, about the time of the Babylonian captivity, is indeed suggested by the expression *the water*, or *the primal water*, as referring to something familiarly known. It is certainly possible, but not in the least degree probable, that the Mosaic history, which contains a mention of the same thing, might have been known to some persons in Egypt at that time; and that the writings of Moses were not known in Egypt three or four hundred years later than the Egyptian manuscript now quoted, must be inferred from the fact that Ptolemy Philadelphus could not find them there. Nor can it be conceived possible that the Egyptian priests, even if they could have read the book of Genesis in Hebrew, would date back their great god Ra, and his father Tum, to the same original. The enlarged sentence in the *Book of the Dead* at once recalls the words of Moses: "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters" (Gen. i. 2), where, also, *the waters* apparently indicates a familiar belief, as well as *the deep*, the Hebrew word תהום being almost, or quite, the same as Tum, the mysterious father of all the gods, who calls himself *the waters*, source of all things. But while the Egyptian notion is that self-existent water gave being to all the gods and to the universe, the statement in Genesis is that darkness was on the deep, and that the Spirit of God moved upon the waters; the one conception being absurd, while it is consistent with reason to believe that the Spirit of God is the Author of creation. But this notwithstanding, we find a similarity of language arising, as all language must arise, from the thing spoken of: and here the thing spoken of varies only as it is viewed

under the light of revelation, or concealed under pagan misapprehension of a tradition common to children of the same father.

It is well known that Greece had a similar tradition, and the words of Hesiod have been quoted a thousand times, until perhaps, they cease to be remembered, and may be once more repeated :

*Ἡ τοι μὲν πρότιστα χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
Ἀθανάτων.*

*But chaos was first of all, then after chaos, the wide-spread land, firm dwelling for all the immortal gods.*¹ But older than Hesiod, Orpheus, if Orpheus ever was, or if not, the mythology embodied in one of the hymns that bear the name of Orphic. It was preserved by Eusebius Pamphilus, who introduces it to his readers as a compendium of the theology of the followers of Orpheus. It shows how the effort to construct a system of divine government under one chief, without the knowledge of God, which can only be attained by means of revelation, leads to pantheism at best.

*Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυτος,
Ζεὺς κεφαλῆ, ζεὺς μέσσα, διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, ζεὺς ἄφθιτος ἐπλετο νύμφη.
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τὲ καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος.
Ζεὺς πνοιὴ πάντων· ζεὺς ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὄρμη.
Ζεὺς πόντου ρίζα· ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη.
Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς, ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
'Ἐν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων.
'Ἐν δὲ δέμας βασιλείου, ἐν τῷ τὰδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,*

¹ Hesiodi *Theogonia*, 116-118.

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ δὲ καὶ ἡμαρ,
 Καὶ μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ, καὶ ἔρως πολυτερπής.
 Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζῆνός τάδε σώματι κείται.
 Τοῦ δῆτοι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν, καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,
 Οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσειαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι,
 Ἀστρῶν μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται.
 Ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα.
 Ἀντολιῆτέ δύσις τὲ, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐραניῶνων.
 Ομματα δ' ἠελίος τε, καὶ ἀντιόωσα σελήνη,
 Νοῦς δέ γε ἀψευδῆς, βασιλήϊος, ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ
 Ωὖ δὴ, πάντα κύκλει καὶ φράζεται, οὐδὲ τις αὐδὴ,
 Οὔτ' ἐνοπή, οὔτε κτύπος, οὐδὲ μὲν ὄσσα,
 Ἡ λήθει διὸς νῖα ὑπὲρ μενέος κρονίωτος.
 Ωἶδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχειν, ἠδὲ νόημα.
 Σῶμα δὲ οἱ περιφεγγές, ἀπειρίτον, ἀστυφελίκτον,
 Οβριμον, ὀβριμάγχιον, ὑπὲρ μενές, ᾧδε τέτυκτο
 Ωμοὶ μὲν καὶ στέρνα, καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο.
 Ἀῆρ εὐρυβίης, πτέρυγες δὲ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο.
 Τῆ σ' ἔπι πάντα ποτᾶται· ἱερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς,
 Γαῖά τε παμμήπειρα, ὀρέωντ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα.
 Μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρνηχέος οἶδμα θαλάσσης,
 Καὶ πόντου, πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ῥίζαι
 Ταρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα, καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης.
 Πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας αὐθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς,
 Μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πολυθέσκελα ῥέζων.
 Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῶον ἐκ ζῶων, καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν.¹

“ Zeus was born first, Zeus last, glorious thunderer.
 Zeus the beginning, Zeus the middle, and of Zeus
 all things are.

Zeus was born male, Zeus became pure virgin
 spouse.

¹ Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, III., 9.

Zeus is foundation both of earth and starry
heaven.

Zeus breath of all, Zeus force of unwearying fire.

Zeus root of sea, Zeus both sun and moon.

Zeus king, Zeus himself chief parent of all
things.

One power, one dæmon born, great prince of all.
And one royal frame, whereby all things are en-
compassed.

Fire and water, and earth and æther; night also,
and day.

Both parent first in counsel, and much delighting
love.

For in the vast body of Zeus do all things lie.

Then by seeing his head, and lovely features

Brilliant heaven, around whom golden hairs

Of shining stars arise most lovely.

And on both sides two bulls' horns of gold

Both east and west, ways of the celestial gods.

And for eyes the sun, and the moon opposite
thereto.

And for mind, unerring, royal, untainted æther.

Around him all things move, and he deliberates,
but there is no sound.

No clamour, and no uproar, not a single voice.

The son of Zeus is not ignorant of the anger of
Chronion,

Even he who had his immortal beginning, and his
mind;

And his body dazzling bright, not to be pierced
through, nor injured.

Robust, powerful, resistless, whomsoever he en-
counters.

Shoulders and breast, and back broad, as becomes
a god.

Air wide prevailing, and far reaching wings,
With which he broods over all; and he has a
sacred bosom.

And earth, mother of all, with lofty mountain
heights,

And for mid-zone the swelling of deep sounding
sea,

And remote ocean bed, and the profound founda-
tions of the land.

And the broad plains of Tartarus, and utmost
ways of earth.

And having hidden all things, out into glad light
again,

Is about to offer from the heart most sacred
gifts.

Zeus, then, is all the world, life of the living, and
god of gods."

Mere monotheism, a doctrine of one god, without the light of revelation, such as the ancient Persians appear to have had, has proved equally futile. Herodotus relates what he heard of their religion, which was probably less pure than that held in the time of Cyrus by that people, who did not receive the instruction which he could not but receive from Daniel. "The customs which I know the Persians to observe," says the historian, "are the following. They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars, and consider the use of them as a sign of folly Their wont, however, is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Jupiter,

which is the name they give to the whole circle of the firmament. They likewise offer to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds." ¹ Afterwards they borrowed from the Arabians and the Assyrians, but chiefly adopted the dualism of Zoroaster. Further we might go; but with regard to the knowledge of God, our conclusion still would be that this was lost to the heathen world, even while some important truths were in some degree retained; the first element of true theology could be faintly traced as a truth practically forgotten, and the Hebrews did not recover it for themselves, but were indebted for their knowledge to the teaching of the Holy Spirit, through Abraham, Moses, and the prophets.

¹ Herod. *Hist.*, I., 131. Rawlinson's translation.

PRIMEVAL FAITH.

THE FUTURE STATE.—EGYPT.

“**T**HE Egyptians,” says Diodorus, “call the habitations of the living *inns*, because they only dwell in them for a short time. The tombs of the deceased, however, they call *eternal habitations*, where they in the sepulchres shall live through unbounded eternity.” Indeed their sepulchres, excavated in the solid rock, were more durable than their palaces, and have actually outlasted them. Herodotus is a yet more valuable witness. He had visited both Memphis and Thebes, the metropolises of Lower and Upper Egypt, and also the famous priest-city of Heliopolis, the On of Genesis. (Gen. xli. 50.) Everywhere he had conversed with the priests, and was initiated into their mysteries. He had acquainted himself, by personal observation and study, with the customs and traditions of the country; and the fruits of his research appear in the second and third books of his history. It was he who noticed the singular custom of a servant, at the close of a banquet, carrying round the wooden image of a corpse, or mummy, in a coffin, carved and painted in imitation of the real object, presenting it to each guest, and saying, “Gaze here, and drink and be merry, for when you die, such will you be.” Nor was this festive rejoicing over death so

unreasonable as it might seem to be; for those Egyptians had no truer conception of death than their priests gave them, when they taught the rich, whose tables they surrounded, that they would be honourably "justified" at the hour of death, and received into the company of the gods, in a world of pleasure, to feast in a celestial paradise. Of such a judgment after death as the Christian revelation teaches, they had no conception, and therefore no dread, and would gaily say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

This view of the matter is entirely confirmed by one of those very songs. It is called "The song of the house of king Antuf, deceased," having been sung during his life, and no doubt expresses the sentiment prevailing at an Egyptian banquet.

"All hail to the good prince, the worthy good man. The body is fated to pass away, the atoms (or perhaps the little ones, the children) remain, ever since the time of the ancestors. The gods who were beforetime rest in their tombs; the mummies of the saints likewise are enwrapped in their tombs. They who build houses, and they who have no houses, see what becomes of them! I have heard the words of Imhotep (a god) and Hartatef (a sage). It is said in their sayings, After all, what is prosperity? Their fenced walls are dilapidated. Their houses are as that which has never existed. No man comes from thence who tells of their sayings, who tells of their affairs, who encourages our hearts. Ye go to the place whence they return not. Strengthen thy heart to forget how thou hast enjoyed thyself, fulfil thy desire whilst thou livest. Put oils upon thy head,

clothe thyself with fine linen adorned with precious metals, with the gifts of God. Multiply thy good things. Yield to thy desire. Fulfil thy desire with thy good things, whilst thou art upon earth, according to the dictation of thy heart. The day will come to thee when one hears not the voice, when the one who is not at rest hears not their voices. Lamentations deliver not him who is in the tomb Feast in tranquillity, seeing that there is no one who carries away his goods with him. Yea, behold, none who goes thither comes back again.”¹

This might seem to contradict their faith in immortality, but it only goes to prove that their faith was barren of comfort. They could talk of resting in their mummies until the time came to get their bodies back again, but their only practical conclusion was, “Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.”

Mariette-Bey, in his notice of the principal monuments in the Museum of Boulac, mentions the mummy-case of a queen, whose husband reigned over all Egypt, from Nubia to the Mediterranean, whereon were painted these words in one conspicuous line: “The royal principal wife, who received the favour of the white crown, Aah-hotep, living for eternity.”² She was of the eleventh dynasty, and therefore must have been laid in that coffin some time between 2020 and 2240 years before Christ.

The mystic sentences, cut into the marble sarcophagi, written on papyrus, and otherwise preserved from very remote antiquity, contain the doctrine of

¹ Translated by C. W. Goodwin, M.A., *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV., p. 115.

² Brugsch-Bey, *Histoire d'Égypte*, 1875, I., 166.

Egypt concerning the state of the departed, and the entire collection is called *The Book of the Dead*. As it stood in the twenty-sixth dynasty, from B.C. 664 to 525, or thereabouts, is what is now taken as the standard text. The chapters were considered to be inspired, and were the rule of faith, and the directory for practice.¹

This book taught that the soul, when born into the world, was imprisoned in a human form, to endure a living death. For the sake of the soul, thus imprisoned, they paid an excessive honour to the human person, which, according to their philosophy, consisted of five parts, or principles, namely, *Ba*, the soul, represented in hieroglyphic by the figure of a hawk with human head and arms; *Akh* or *Khu*, intelligence; *Ka*, existence, or breath of life; *Khaba*, shade; *Kha*, body; and besides this, *Sah*, or mummy, which remains after the dissolution of the living frame. The soul is not described as created, and if not created it must be divine. The *Ka*, or existence, was held to be the special gift of Tum, the sun after sunset.²

According to this book, the soul, immediately after her separation from the body, addresses the gods of the lower world. In that address the defunct recounts his titles to the favour of Osiris, and demands admission into his empire. The choir of happy souls support his plea. The priest on earth implores the clemency of the gods. Osiris hears the prayers, and bids the deceased enter freely into Amenti, the Egyptian paradise. Many chapters follow, relating

¹ Translated by Dr. Samuel Birch, London, 1867.

² P. Pierret, *Dict. d'Archéologie, Egypt.* Atoum.

to the funeral ceremonies. When at last the deceased is admitted into paradise, he is amazed at the glory of the sun-god, whom he sees for the first time. He chants a hymn of praise, and makes many invocations. The great evil serpent threatens to swallow him up, but he defies it and escapes. Now he passes through the gate of the West, as the god Osiris, he has the paths of heaven and earth laid open before him. Gods and goddesses make way for him to pass.

Now comes a multitude of wild imaginations. The deceased has to be reconstructed. A mouth and speech are given him for use in paradise. Charms are given him to produce new ideas, and he has a new name, and a new heart besides. He rejoices in the amplitude and perfection of his powers, and delights himself in raptures of self-congratulation. He opens heaven and exults.

The chapters of this book served as charms. Men learned them while imprisoned in their bodies in this world, that they might remember to recite them in the next. Sixteen of them have the virtue, if recited, of preserving the bodies of the dead in the tombs, and keeping them safe from "the gnawing worm, the snake, the tortoise, the malignant fiends, and the noisome vermin that infest the chambers of death. Nine chapters are for the living to recite for the benefit of the dead, to save them from an eternal overthrow. Twelve relate to their diet in Amenti. Other twelve are supposed to describe the manifestation to light of the uncorrupted human body, invested with undying powers, and surrounded with manifold defences against mortality. They are now to come forth as the day, break through the barriers of

sepulchral night, mount up into meridian glory, and ascend towards heaven.

With all this diligence there seems little hope of rest, and ways without end are devised to save the mummy from being injured, and the soul from disappointment and mischance. Millions of years may pass before the vast cycle of existence shall revolve; many transmigrations, for better or worse, may come to pass; and provision must be made for all.

But the section of "the hall of the two truths, or scales of justice," is of the highest interest. Until the reader comes to this part of the book, he may suppose that the Egyptians relied on nothing for happiness beyond the grave except charms, or protestations of his own, or of his priest, until here, at length, he finds mention of a judgment after death. Here the 125th chapter tells of "going to the hall of the two truths, and *separating a person from his sins, when he has been made to see the faces of the gods.*" The person to be judged, and weighed in the balance by Anup, judge of the dead, appeals to the supreme judge, and to his assessors, forty-two in number!

"O ye lords of the truth! Let me know you. I have brought you truth! Rule ye away my faults. I have not privily done evil against mankind. I have not afflicted persons or men. I have not told falsehood in the tribunal of truth. I have had no acquaintance with evil. I have not done any wicked thing. I have not made the labouring man to do more than his task daily. I have not exceeded what is ordered. I have not been idle. I have not failed. I have not ceased. I have not been weak. I have not done what is hateful to the gods. I have not calumniated

the slave to his master. I have not made to weep. I have not murdered. I have not given orders to smite a person privily. I have not committed fraud to men. I have not injured the images of the gods. I have not taken scraps of the bandages of the dead. I have not committed adultery. I have not spat against the priest of the god of my country. I have not falsified measures, nor thrown the weight out of the scale, nor cheated in the weight of the balance. I have not withheld milk from the mouths of sucklings." And a great many other things that have not been done are also enumerated.

The remarkable code, of which no more than this brief and partial sketch can now be given, contains evidence that amidst a vast accumulation of superstitions, the mere sport of an unrestrained imagination, there lay a confession of responsibility to a superior power, with the expectation of a final judgment, and a measure of reward or punishment in an eternal state. Lepsius¹ has demonstrated, by comparison of documents, that the chapters of this death-book were far more simple in the earlier ages of Egyptian history; and his statements at the same time prove that the vestiges of a primeval faith were more distinct. And here let me observe that this persuasion of immortality and judgment after death was always a leading characteristic of the religion; and this being the case, and the Hebrews, moreover, having become Egyptian in all their habits, if not in all their principles, that vast multitude whom Moses led out of Egypt, and to whom he gave the law, could not have

¹ *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs*, von R. Lepsius, Berlin, 1867.

been insensible to the fact that whatever they did in this world they would have to answer for in the world to come. But there is another aspect of the case in which the Hebrews were actually concerned, and which, therefore, we must not overlook.

Amongst the Egyptian remains, there is the sarcophagus of Seti I., father of Rameses II., in whose reign it is believed that Moses was born. On this receptacle of the royal mummy is inscribed a picture of the last judgment, with a lengthened representation of the scene, as it appeared to the mind of an Egyptian. A lengthened explanation of the picture is also cut into the stone.

The great god Ra is the central figure. He is in the form of a man with a ram's head, standing erect in the solar boat, which a vast serpent encircles with its folds. Two demi-gods, named San and Haken, are on board, one at the prow, and the other at the poop. Four infernal beings drag the boat with a thick towing-cable, and many other beings, whether of hell or heaven none can tell, attend in strong procession. At the right hand of Ra stands Horus, leaning on a tall staff, hawk-headed, in sign of wisdom, quick sight, and swiftness to take the prey. Four quaternions represent the four races, as they will be at the last judgment, namely, Men, Asiatics, Negroes, Libyans. The first are *Men*, Egyptians pre-eminently so considered. The second are *Asiatics*, less than men, as slaves might seem to be, and the Hebrews were in reality Asiatic slaves. The third, *Negroes*, and the fourth, *Libyans*, ranked yet lower in the scale of being, yet, as they were capable of adoring Ra, they were charitably counted worthy to come

before the judges, and might even be allowed some humble place in paradise.¹

In this picture of the last judgment it is easy to discern some shadow of the scriptural teaching on the subject; such as the assemblage of all mankind, a separation of the righteous and the wicked, and the reward or punishment to follow. Apart from these circumstantial resemblances, the Egyptian scheme is but remotely descended from the primeval revelation; and the Biblical teaching is not directly traditional, but brought to the world by inspired prophets, and most distinctly by the Saviour. But the divergence is too wide to allow conciliation, and the opposition so absolute that there can be no comparison. What we chiefly gather from the sepulchral documents of Egypt is a direct evidence of irrecoverable degeneracy, together with proof, not to say demonstration, that before the making of those records in Egypt, and the call of Moses at the burning bush, the early generations of mankind had been duly taught concerning death and resurrection, judgment and immortality.

But before closing this section, it may be well to note a writing of later date, "probably from the epoch of the Ptolemies." It is called "the Book of Respirations," or Book of the Breaths of Life, and consists of salutations to a deceased person. One of these salutations will show how confidently the Egyptians were instructed in this belief.

"Hail to the Osiris N!

Thine individuality is permanent.

¹ *Les Quatre Races au Jugement Dernier*, read April 6, 1875, *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. IV., p. 44.

Thy body is durable.
Thy mummy doth germinate.
Thou art not repulsed from heaven (neither from)
earth.
Thy face is illuminated near the sun.
Thy soul liveth near to Ammon.
Thy body is rejuvenated near to Osiris.
Thou dost breathe for ever and ever.
Thy soul maketh thee offerings, each day, of
bread, of drinks, of oxen, of geese, of fresh water,
of condiments.
Thou comest to justify it.
Thy flesh is on thy bones, like to thy form on earth.
Thou dost imbibe into thy body.
Thou eatest with thy mouth.
Thou receivest bread with the souls of the gods.
Anubis doth guard thee.
He is thy protection.
Thou art not repulsed from the gates of the lower
heaven.
Thoth, the doubly great, the lord of Sesennu,
cometh to thee.
He writeth for thee the book of respirations with
his own fingers.
Thy soul doth breathe for ever and ever.
Thou dost renew thy form on earth, among the
living.
Thou art divinized with the souls of the gods.
Thy heart is the heart of Ra.
Thy members are the members of the great god
(Osiris).
Thou livest for ever and ever.”¹

¹ Translated by P. J. De Horrack, *Records of the Past*, Vol. IV., p. 119.

PRIMEVAL FAITH.

THE FUTURE STATE.—ASSYRIA.

WHILE one class of writers takes it for granted that Moses knew nothing of the immortality of the soul and a future state, and therefore could only offer to obedient Israelites temporal rewards, others have proved the contrary by resistless arguments. It is not my business to go over this ground again, but to confine my attention to such recently discovered monuments as contribute evidence in favour of the belief that from times far anterior to the most ancient book of Holy Scripture, these fundamental truths of revealed religion were given to the world.

Mr. Fox Talbot was among the first to discover the confession of a future state, and of the immortality of the soul, strangely mingled with worship of the Assyrian gods. It occurs in a prayer for one of the kings, translated from a tablet in the British Museum, and reads thus: "Length of days, long lasting years, a strong sword, a long life, extended years of glory, pre-eminence among kings, grant to my lord the king, who has given such gifts to his gods. The vast and wide bounds of his empire and of his rule may he enlarge, and may he complete. Holding supremacy, and royalty, and empire over all kings, may he attain to grey hairs and old age."

Thus far goes the yearning after the things of this world, which are sought first. Then the author of the prayer rises higher in acknowledgment of the truth not yet utterly obscured, yet spoiled with polytheism. "And after the gift of these present days, in the feasts of the land of the silver sky, the refulgent courts, the abode of blessedness: and in the light of the happy fields, may he dwell in a life eternal, holy, in the presence of the gods who inhabit Assyria."¹ Here is a confession of life and immortality, yet it is debased with a large alloy of error. The prayer to the gods of Assyria contains a confession of glorious truths, but it is made in darkness. It was but half cherished in the world, and half lost, yet it gains full acceptance when men receive the revelation of the Gospel, *shedding light on life and incorruption, φωτίσαντος ζωὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν.*

The confidence of Job that after the destruction of his body he should see God (Job xix. 25-27), and the signal faith of Abraham, who proceeded to make Isaac a burnt sacrifice to the Lord, "accounting that God was able to raise him up, even from the dead" (Heb. xi. 17-19), sufficiently prove that the doctrine of a future life was known in the world before Moses. The traces of such a truth, however perverted, are very clear. The legend of the descent of Ishtar has attracted great attention. It has been studied very carefully by several Assyriologists, but especially by Mr. Talbot and the late Mr. Smith. Mr. Talbot gives the following improved translation, with the approval of his colleague in the work:

¹ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. I., p. 107.

“ Column I. (1) To the land of No-return¹ (*Hades*), the land of her desire, (2) Ishtar daughter of the moon-god San turned her mind, (3) and the daughter of San fixed her mind (to go there): (4) to the house where all meet: the dwelling of the god Irkalla: (5) the house which those who enter it, never come out: (6) the road which those who travel it, never return: (7) the house which those who enter it, are deprived of light: (8) where earth is their food; their nourishment clay: (9) light is not seen; in darkness they dwell: (10) ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings there: (11) upon the gate and the gate-bars the dust lies undisturbed.

“(12) When Ishtar arrived at the gate of No-return (*Hades*), (13) to the keeper of the gate a word she spoke: (14) O keeper of the entrance! open thy gate! (15) Open thy gate, I say again, that I may enter! (16) If thou openest not thy gate, and I enter not, (17) I will assault the door: I will break down the gate: (18) I will attack the entrance: I will split open the portals: (19) I will raise the dead, to be the devourers of the living! (20) Upon the living the dead shall prey! (21) Then the porter opened his mouth and spoke, (22) and said to the great Ishtar, (23) Stay, lady! do not shake the door! (24) I will go, and tell this to the queen Ninkigal. (25) The porter entered, and said to Ninkigal, (26) These curses thy sister Ishtar (utters), (27) blaspheming thee

¹ *Land of No-return.* The translation which I have the advantage of copying, instead of any that preceded, has the Greek word *Hades*, but Mr. Talbot, in an Appendix to his Notes, approves of “Land of No-return” as the exact rendering of the original; and certainly it is far superior to a foreign word, which needs translation for general readers, and sounds very harsh amidst the admirable simplicity of the version.

with great 'curses (. . . .). (28) When Ninkigal heard this (. . . .) (29) she grew pale, like a flower that is cut off: (30) she trembled like the stem of a rood: (31) I will cure her rage, she said, I will cure her fury, (32) these curses I will repay to her! (33) Light up consuming flames! Light up blazing straw! (34) Let her doom be with the husbands who deserted their wives! (35) Let her doom be with their wives who from their husband's side departed! (36) Let her doom be with the youths who led dishonoured lives! (37) Go, porter, open the gate for her, (38) but strip off her jewels, like those of former people. (39) The porter went and opened the gate. (40) Enter, lady of Tiggaba city! It is permitted! (41) The sovereign of No-return will come to meet thee!

"(42) The first gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the great crown from her head. (43) Keeper! do not take off from me the great crown from my head! (44) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

"(45) The second gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the carrings of her ears. (46) Keeper! do not take off from me, the earrings of my ears! (47) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

"(48) The third gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the precious stones from her head. (49) Keeper! do not take off from me, the precious stones from my head! (50) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

"(51) The fourth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the small lovely gems from

her forehead. (52) Keeper, do not take off from me, the small lovely gems from my forehead! (53) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

“(54) The fifth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the central girdle of her waist. (55) Keeper! do not take off from me, the central girdle of my waist! (56) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

“(57) The sixth gate admitted her, and stopped her: there were taken off the golden rings of her hands and feet. (58) Keeper! do not take off from me, the golden rings of my hands and feet! (59) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

(60) The seventh gate admitted her, and stopped her: there was taken off the last garment from her body. (61) Keeper, do not take off from me, the last garment from my body! (62) Enter, lady! for the queen of the land demands her treasures!

(63) After that mother Ishtar had descended into the land of No-return, (64) Ninkigal saw her, and derided her to her face. (65) Ishtar lost her reason, and heaped curses upon her. (66) Ninkigal opened her mouth and spoke; (67) to Namtar her messenger a command she gave: (68) Go, Namtar (*some words lost*). (69) Bring her out for punishment (*words lost*).

“Column II. (1) The divine messenger of the gods lacerated his face before them.¹ (2) He tore his vest. Rapid words he spoke. (3) The Sun

¹ A sign of violent grief and evil news. Forbidden in Deut. xiv. 1; Lev. xix. 28.

approached. He joined the Moon his father. (4) Weeping they spoke thus unto Hea the king: (5) Ishtar descended into the earth: and she did not rise again, (6) and since the time that mother Ishtar descended into the land of No-return, (7) the bull has not sought the cow, nor the male of any animal the female. (8) The slave and her master (*some words lost*). (9) The master has ceased from commanding; (10) the slave has ceased from obeying. (11) Then the god Hea in the depth of his mind laid a plan: (12) he formed, for her escape, the figure of a man of clay. (13) Go to, save her, phantom; present thyself at the portal of No-return; (14) the seven gates of No-return will open before thee, (15) Ninkigal will see thee, and will come to meet thee. (16) When her mind shall be grown calm, and her anger shall be worn off, (17) awe her with the names of the great gods! (18) Prepare thy frauds! On deceitful tricks fix thy mind! (19) The chiefest deceitful trick! Bring forth fishes of the waters, out of an empty vessel! (20) This thing will astonish Ninkigal: (21) then to Ishtar she will restore her clothing. (22) A great reward for these things shall not fail. (23) Go, save her, phantom, and the great assembly of the people shall crown thee! (24) Meats, the first of the city, shall be thy food! (25) Wine, the most delicious in the city, shall be thy drink! (26) A royal palace shall be thy dwelling! (27) A throne of state shall be thy seat! (28) Magicians and conjurers shall kiss the hem of thy garment!

“(29) Ninkigal opened her mouth and spoke; (30) to Namtar her messenger a command she gave; (31) Go, Namtar, clothe the temple of justice!

(32) Adorn the seats and the (33) Bring out Anunak! Seat him on a golden throne! (34) Pour out for Ishtar the waters of life, and let her depart from my dominions! (35) Namtar went, and clothed the temple of justice, (36) he adorned the seats and the (37) he brought out Anunak; on a golden throne he seated him; (38) he poured out for Ishtar the waters of life, and let her go. (39) Then the first gate he let her forth, and restored to her, the first garment of her body. (40) The second gate he let her forth, and restored to her, the ornaments of her hands and feet. (41) The third gate let her forth, and restored to her, the central girdle of her waist. (42) The fourth gate let her forth, and restored to her, the small lovely gems of her forehead. (43) The fifth gate let her forth, and restored to her, the precious stones of her head. (44) The sixth gate let her forth, and restored to her, the earrings of her ears. (45) The seventh gate let her forth, and restored to her, the great crown on her head.”¹

Let this be what it may: a mythic legend, or a poem, or what, if written in the middle ages, would be called a mystery, or miracle-play; whatever it is, or by whomsoever composed, the author must have had a conception of the region of the departed not unlike that of the prophets Isaiah (Isa. xiv.) and Ezekiel (Eze. xxxii.). He had heard of a fiery doom for the wicked after this life, and an eternal prison. He had learned to give up all hope of taking anything out of this world with him to be enjoyed in the next. He had learned to conceive of the possibility of release from the house where all must meet, and of

¹ *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. III., p. 118.

a return, having help from heaven, even by the way on which none can return without it. Whatever his faith or his unbelief might be, he ventured to speak as one who thought it not incredible that a God of gods should raise the dead. Here again, then, is evidence that a thought of immortality had been breathed into the minds of men, some faint hope at least that the gates of the realm of death and darkness might, by a sovereign power, be broken open after all.

Yet more important are some fragments which tell of an established and unquestionable belief, as Mr. Talbot observes, of a future state, as expressed in the daily life of the Assyrians. For example: a man is expected to die, and they offer up this prayer for his soul: "Like a bird may it fly to a lofty place! To the holy hands of its god may it return!" Or this: "The departed man, may he be in glory! May his soul shine radiant as brass! To that man may the Sun give life! And Marduk (Merodach), eldest son of heaven, grant him an abode of happiness!" The death of a righteous man is eloquently described on a tablet, imperfect like most of the tablets from Nineveh, but of which the following lines are preserved:¹

¹ *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Vol. II., p. 29. With much regret I note an assertion of Mr. Talbot in a paper read to the Society of Biblical Archæology on 1st April 1873, that "when the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity, they brought with them a multitude of new opinions and superstitions which had not been known in former times; and also some much purer doctrines, among which was pre-eminent a belief in the immortality of the soul, which, after the captivity was universally received, except by the sect of the Sadducees, who rejected it." (*Trans.* II. 50.) If it were so, we should not find any statement of the doctrine, nor any allusion to it, in the Old Testament Scriptures before the captivity, and

“(1) Tempest in heaven, lightning on earth, are raging. (2) Of the brave man who was so strong, his strength has departed. (3) Of the righteous servant, the force does not return. (4) In his bodily frame he lies dangerously ill. (5) But Ishtar smiles upon him with a placid smile, (6) and comes down from her

there was little inspired Hebrew Scripture after it: but it has been abundantly proved that such is not the case. Passing by many passages which indicate belief in the doctrine of immortality, or without a recognition of the doctrine would not be intelligible, I content myself with marking some where it is distinctly stated: “Enoch walked with God, and was not, for God *took him*.” (Gen. v. 24.) The Psalmist said, “God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave, for he *shall receive me*.” (Psa. xlix. 15.) The writer of Ecclesiastes argues that while both men and beasts go unto one place, and that one place is the dust to which their bodies are turned, “the spirit of man goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth.” (Ecc. iii. 20, 21.) And again: “The dust shall return to the earth as it was; and the spirit unto God who gave it.” (Ecc. xii. 7.) God said to Moses, “I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob” (Ex. iii. 6, etc.); and our Lord insists thereupon, “As touching the resurrection of the dead, have ye not read that which was spoken unto you by God, saying, I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? God is not the God of the dead, but of the living.” This not only astonished the multitude, but *put the Sautucees to silence*. (Mat. xxii. 31-34.) The patriarch Jacob telling Pharaoh his age, calls his life a *pilgrimage*. (Gen. xlvii. 9.) David in prayer said: “We are strangers before thee, and sojourners, as were all our fathers: our days on the earth are as a shadow, and there is none abiding.” (1 Chr. xxix. 15.) St. Paul, speaking of the *faith* of those who so confessed, reasons, “For they that say such things declare plainly that they seek a country, . . . a better country, that is an heavenly.” (Heb. xi. 13-16.) No language could be more explicit than that of David, “I have set the Lord always before me: because he is at my right hand, I shall not be moved. Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth; my flesh also shall rest in hope. For thou wilt not leave my soul in *the grave*, ^{hšw}, neither wilt thou suffer thy Holy One to see corruption. Thou wilt shew me the path of life: in Thy presence is fulness of joy; at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.” (Psa. xvi. 8-11.) All this, and much more, was familiar to the Israelites long before the two captivities of Nineveh and Babylon; and after Babylon, was received by all the Jews, until a few turned infidel after the sect of Sadok was set up.

mountain unvisited of men. (7) At the door of the sick man she speaks. (8) The sick man turns his head: (9) Who is there? Who comes? (10) It is Ishtar, daughter of the moon-god Sin: (11) It is the god son of Bel: (12) It is Marduk, son of the god (13) They approach the body of the sick man. (*The next line, 14, is nearly destroyed.*) (15) They bring a *khisibta* (jewel?) from their heavenly treasury: (16) They bring a *sisbu*(?) from their lofty storehouse: (17) To the precious *khisibta* they pour forth a hymn. (18) That righteous man, let him now depart. (19) May he rise as bright as that *khisibta*! (20) May he soar as high as that *sisbu*! (21) Like pure silver may his figure shine! (22) Like brass may it be radiant! (23) To the Sun, greatest of the gods, may it return! (24) And may the Sun, greatest of the gods, receive the saved soul into his holy hands!"

Here we return to Egypt for a moment, to place in contrast with a distinction marked between the righteous and the wicked by the Assyrians *before death*, so far as the examples hitherto collected enable us to judge, the exorbitant self-admiration of the Egyptians, who seem to have placed great reliance on a communion of divinity between themselves and their gods. They ascribed great efficacy to a proclamation of their virtues on entering the nether world, and an assumption of the name of a god, especially Osiris. There was no satisfactory doctrine as to judgment *after death*. The deceased had to do battle with malignant fiends, and by his own prowess win his way to the bright plains of heaven. He was to plead his merits before the judges in the hall of judgment. The survivors

were always to believe that his own *post mortem* efforts were to be successful. Somewhere we are always sure to find the rudiments of the purely heathen doctrine of purgatory for the dead, and a correspondent presumption in the living. This delusion pervades the *Book of the Dead*. It altogether fills the *Book of Migrations*, whence we take two sections, by way of specimen.

“Hail! Osiris (*here the earthly name is to follow*), thou comest to the house of glory in great purity; the goddesses of truth made thee exceedingly pure at the great tribunal. Thou hast a grand cleansing at the tribunal. The god Seb purified thy members at the tribunal. Thou art fair by looking on Ra, and the conjunction of the god Atune at the place of darkness (*that is to say, the sun at his setting*). Ammon is with thee, giving thee breath, and the god Ptah, bending thy limbs. Thou comest to the horizon with Ra; thy soul is received into the barge with Osiris; thy soul is divine in the house of Seb, and thou art justified for ever.

“Hail! Osiris Thy name remaineth; thy mummy is fresh; thou art not excluded from heaven nor from earth. Thy soul shineth with Ra; thy soul liveth with Ammon; thy body is renewed with Osiris; thou goest on migration for ever.”¹

It is written on their monuments, as witnesses an epitaph at Beni-Hassan:

“I have not troubled the son of the poor man; I have not oppressed any poor widow; I have not disturbed any fisherman; I have not driven away any shepherd; there was no householder whose servant I

¹ *Säi an Sinsin*, Edidit Hen. Brugsch, Berolini, 1851.

took for labour. No prisoner languished in my days; no one died of hunger in my time. When there were years of hunger, I had all the fields of my Nomos ploughed, into the northern and the southern boundaries. I gave nourishment to the inhabitants, and fed them. There was no hungry person in it. I gave the widow equal measure with the married woman. I did not prefer the rich to the poor.”¹

A very perfect example of the same kind was produced in a paper by M. Chabas, read to the Society of Biblical Archæology while this last sheet was in the press (May 1, 1877). The person departed was lord of the public granaries, and a great favourite with the Pharaoh. His name was Beka, which is said to mean *slave*, and it is suggested that, like Joseph, he was a foreigner. The style of the inscription, however, is entirely Egyptian, and when printed, it will be seen that while there is sufficient mention of the general excellence of this Beka, he insists (if he prepared it before his death, which is probable) that his great virtue was veracity. He boasts all through of an unflinching love of truth, in which respect he is represented as immaculate through all his life, and in all his relations. So in every similar writing. Every soldier is victorious; every tyrant is humane and generous; every libertine is devoted to the gods. Whoever dies is described as *the justified*, just as in a Greek menology he is *ὁ μακάριος, the blessed!*

¹ *Die ägyptische Gräberwelt*, von Heinrich Brugsch, Leipzig, 1868.

SACRIFICE.

BOTH sacrifice and oblation were presented to God by members of the first human family, and the sacrifice was offered in faith. But faith could not exist without the declaration of some truth preceding, or the promise of some blessing that should thereafter be received. That blessing might be the bruising of the serpent's head, the triumphant issue of a prolonged conflict predicted in Eden after the Fall. (Gen. iii. 15.)

The next recorded sacrifice was offered by Noah, after the subsidence of the Deluge; and after this, the mention of sacrifice is frequent in the Old Testament, and sacrificial rites, of some kind or other, became prevalent throughout the Gentile world. Whether or not this manner of worship was directly ordained of God at the beginning, it received the Divine sanction; both these sacrifices were signally accepted; and under the Mosaic law the victims became typical of the body of Christ, who suffered to make atonement for the sins of all mankind. Then were these words written: "There remaineth no more sacrifice for sins" (Heb. x. 26); that is to say, for those who refuse the benefit of that atonement.

"The Babylonian legend of the Creation," as the late Mr. George Smith called it in the fifth chapter of

his *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, was inscribed in tablets of which there are but a few fragments as yet translated ; but in the fragmentary translations we find some very important sentences in relation to this subject, and may hope that other students will, from time to time, recover much of what is wanting to complete the Chaldean tradition of the Creation, the Fall, and the events which followed.

Tablet K 3364, in the British Museum, contains on the obverse an address to the newly created man, called Adam, as in the Bible,¹ instructing him in his duties. Among the broken lines are these, almost perfect :

“(8) Every day thy god shalt thou approach (or invoke). (9) Sacrifice, prayer of the mouth, and instruments (10) to thy god in reverence thou shalt carry (11) whatsoever shall be suitable for divinity, (12) supplication, humility, and bowing of the face, (13) fire(?) thou shalt give to him, and thou shalt bring tribute, (14) and in the fear also of god thou shalt be holy. (17) Sacrifice saving (18) and worship (19) the fear of god thou shalt not leave (20) the fear of angels thou shalt live in”

It is remarkable that no mention is found here of any other than one god, who is called *god*, or *thy god*, although there are gods many and goddesses, whose names crowd the tablets. But the name of Adam's god, who is elsewhere said to have created him, is Hea, one of the chief divinities, and very prominent indeed in the Chaldean and Assyrian mythology, and appears to agree very closely with the verb היה *to be*, and to

¹ *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, 1876, p. 304.

express the radical idea of the name of God, the אהיה אשר אהיה declared to Moses. (Ex. iii. 14.) And the style of this inscription is certainly peculiar. Sacrifice, daily prayer, prayer of the mouth, supplications, humility, and bowing of the face, almost entirely constitute the ritual of this primeval worship. *Fire*, if this be the true rendering of an indistinct word on the broken clay, may be intended to consume the burnt offering, such as Abel gladly brought, firstlings of the flock, and fat, to be laid with faith upon the altar. *Tribute*, such, perhaps, as the fruit of the ground which Cain brought; but with Cain it was a servile offering rather than an oblation made in thankful faith; and this may serve to illustrate the sad scene described in Gen. iv. 3-8. *Supplication*, too, conveys an acknowledgment of sin, for which sacrifice is needed, and of which this Chaldean legend makes distinct mention.¹ Then, again, reverence; the fear of God; living in the fear of angels, or such fear as angels have; holiness: these are words to indicate the spirit of this primeval worship, and I observe that Mr. Smith himself so regarded it. And thus the earliest of the Cuneiform documents, for this Assyrian is also a translation from the Chaldean archaic, like the oldest sentences in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, is also the most simple. Both the one and the other come nearest to the simplicity of the first five chapters of the book of Genesis, which the document now quoted so admirably confirms.

¹ See "Antediluvians," p. 10 of the preceding volume.

APPENDIX.

—♦—

NOTES ON THE FRAGMENT OF A SYRIAC
MANUSCRIPT, AT PAGE 175.

HAVING presented to my readers the tracing of three verses of the most ancient known version of the Gospels,—obtained by permission from a leaf of one of the Curetonian Syriac manuscripts in the British Museum, and considering it to be, as nearly as possible, a visible memorial of the Gospel on the eastern side of the Euphrates immediately after our Lord's ascension, I append a few notes by way of elucidation.

Students of the history of early Christianity well know that one of the first things done in every country where the Gospel was first proclaimed, was to supply those who received it with copies of portions of Holy Scripture; not excepting the Books of the Old Testament, already extant in Greek as well as Hebrew, as the Pentateuch had been for ages in Chaldee, the word of God being always written in the language of the people. It was undoubtedly in view of providing authentic information and instruction by this method, that the four Evangelists wrote their biographies of our Lord Jesus Christ, which were published without delay, and read

by friends and foes, by a Justin and a Porphyry, and were soon translated into vulgar languages: the dialects of Egypt for example. So it was not left for fame only to inform all Syria of the person and the ministrations of Jesus; and when Thaddæus went to Edessa, as related above, he might carry with him, or would very soon receive the first Gospel written in Hebrew, as the Aramaic, or Syriac, spoken at that time in Palestine, is called in the New Testament.¹ That the first Gospel was originally so written by St. Matthew was attested without contradiction by the earliest and most considerable Christian authorities,² and is now generally acknowledged.

We learn from Hegesippus that there was a Gospel *according to the Hebrews*, καθ' Ἑβραίων, that is to say, as the Hebrews, or Jews read it, before their dispersion from the Holy Land after the year 70, and a Gospel translated into Syriac from the Hebrew dialect, ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραϊδος διαλέκτου, both which books he saw about the middle of the second century.³ These two, the Palestine Syriac and the Edessene Syriac, were to each other what the original Hebrew of the Law of Moses, and the Chaldee Targum were, after the Babylonian captivity. The Hebrew and Greek editions of the Gospel, with the Edessene Syriac, may have been issued simultaneously, or as soon afterwards as possible, Thaddæus the translator of the last being too far off to work in actual concert with St. Matthew.

The custom of publishing in diglot was not unusual.

¹ Acts xxi. 40; xxii. 1.

² Papias, Irenæus, Pantænus, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Jerome.

³ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* IV. 22.

Josephus, for example, published his history of Jewish Antiquities in Greek for the Gentiles, and in Hebrew for the Jews. Public records in Egypt were written at once in hieratic for the priests, and in demotic for the people: in China there are still two dialects in use, the mandarin and the common. So, in short, wherever the subject of writing is meant to be understood, it is published without reservation or delay, in the language or languages of the people for whose benefit or direction it is intended.

We have now before us, in the size of the original, a fragment of the most ancient "Curetonian Syriac." The manuscript itself may not be older than the fifth century, but the version it contains is most probably the same as that written by Thaddæus, or under his direction, which served himself and his disciples during the greater part of the twelve or thirteen years of the reign of Abgar as a Christian king, from A.D. 33 or 34 to 45 (when he died), and by their successors in generations following, until a revised version took its place. In short, as Dr. Cureton says: "If we are to place any faith in the tradition constantly maintained in the Syrian churches, the books of the New Testament originally in Greek, which have been admitted into the (Syrian) canon, were translated into Syriac before the end of the first century.¹ There is also a record preserved of the date of a copy of the Gospels in Syriac transcribed at

¹ Dr. Cureton says, "In the days of Abgar, the first Christian king of Edessa, under the superintendence of Adai." But this must be an oversight. I find by the dates given in Asseman, *Bib. Or.* I. 420, that Abgar began to reign A.D. 8, and died A.D. 45. In the remaining years of the century, certainly there was time enough for all the New Testament to be translated.

Edessa by Achæus, the friend of one of Adai's (Thaddæus') own disciples as early as A.D. 77 or 78. And if this is to be relied upon, it is no unreasonable inference to draw, that the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke were translated into Syriac even before the present canonical Greek version of St. Matthew existed."¹ The writer describes "a certain Gospel of Edessa extremely ancient, indeed, but bright and clear, from which not a stroke had faded; but it was easier to read than books lately written, and only one sheet was missing from the manuscript, which had fallen off through age. At the end was written: 'This holy book was completed on the fifth day of the week, the eighteenth of the first Canúm (December) of the year 389 of the Greeks (A.D. 78) by the very hand of Achai the Apostle, companion of my Lord Maari, disciple of my Lord Adai the Apostle. May his prayer be with us: Amen.'"² The description of this manuscript might very well apply to the one whose fragments are translated by Dr. Cureton, before it was abandoned and shattered in a dark cell of the Egyptian monastery; and the Gospel of Edessa ought now to be forthcoming in the Vatican Library, where it was deposited in the year 1721 or thereabout. And an internal mark of primitive antiquity is archaic simplicity of style, a frequent rudeness and incompleteness of rendering, which passes away as the version is corrected from time to time in later copies, until at last the Peshito

¹ Remains of a very ancient Version of the four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe; discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S., etc. London, 1858. Preface LXXVII., LXXVIII.

² Index Codicum MSS., Asseman, *Bibl. Oriental.* II., 468.

Syriac, as it is called, bears the evidence of careful revision. The Curetonian fragments, however, most frequently agree in leading characteristics with the three most ancient Greek manuscripts, the Sinaitic, the Vatican and the Alexandrian.

At the close of this little volume after a less difficult but not less interesting task, I cannot refrain from adopting entirely for my own the closing sentences of Dr. Cureton when putting forth his edition of the Nitrian fragments: "I have honestly and fearlessly sought for the truth in my labours; and during their progress I have had the vast satisfaction of continually obtaining additional conviction of the genuineness and authenticity of these documents of our faith, of the impossibility of their being other than what they are represented to be, and of the wonderful fidelity of the transmission of the text in all essential matters whatever; in the midst of some variations which nothing but a constant miracle could prevent, by several processes of philological argument and reasoning, which rest solely upon the free critical examination of numerous questions into which the task has led me."



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